REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS
IN SANCTUARIES OF ARTEMIS
AND OF OTHER OLYMPIAN DEITIES

by

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I declare that the following thesis
has been composed entirely by the author.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a discussion of the representations of animals dedicated as statues or figurines (or simply as decoration) to the gods of Ancient Greece. In the thesis an attempt is made to see how far the identity of the deity influenced the dedicator's choice of animal; and to assess his motivation in offering it in terms of its possible religious significance.

Apart from the Introduction and Conclusion, the thesis is divided into seventeen sections, in each of which a species of animal, or group of related species, is discussed. Birds, and some insects and reptiles, are included in the examination, and the last section deals with a group of imaginary beasts. In the earlier part of each section, literary material relevant to the links between gods and animals, in terms both of current religious practice, and of traditional legend, is considered. In the later part of the section, archaeological evidence is examined: principally animal-representations dedicated in sanctuaries, but also the decorations of buildings, and the types of animal-bones found; and any discernible distribution-patterns of animals in relation to individual deities are noted. The archaeological evidence which provides the material for discussion has been set out as precisely as possible in Appendix 8, in sections corresponding to those in the main text. Each section of this Appendix consists of a list of representations of an animal (or associated animals) found in different sanctuaries, with brief details of their material and dates. In the corresponding section of the text, this archaeological evidence is considered in relation to the customs and beliefs embodied in literature; and an assessment is made of how far dedicatory practice accords or conflicts with literary tradition, and of what light it sheds on the characters of the gods as seen by their worshippers.

ABBREVIATIONS

Titles of journals and other key works have been abbreviated according to the current Instructions to Contributors, issued by the editors of the Annual Report of the British School at Athens. Further abbreviations used in the thesis and in Appendix 8 are as follows:

AO	R.M. Dawkins. *Artemis Orthia* (supplementary volume 5, *JHS*). London 1929.
API	*Anthologia Palatina.*
BM	British Museum.
BSA Suppl. 6	John Boardman. *Excavations in Chios 1925-1955. Greek Emporio* (supplementary volume 6, *BSA*). Oxford 1967.
Beil.	*Beilage.*
Bequignon	Y. Bequignon. *Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie.* Paris 1937.
Beschreibung	A. Furtwängler. *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium.* Berlin 1885.
Boardman	John Boardman. *Greek Sculpture: the archaic period; a handbook.* London 1978.
Broneer	O. Broneer. *Temple of Poseidon* (*Isthmia.* Vol. I). Princeton 1971.
Buschor	E. Buschor. *Altsamische Standbilder.* 5 Vols. Berlin 1934-1961.
Carapanos	C. Carapanos. *Dodone et ses ruines.* Paris 1878.
Catalogue I	G. Dickins. *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.* Vol. I. *Archaic Sculpture.* Cambridge 1912.
Catalogue II	S. Casson & D. Brooke. *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.* Vol. II. *Sculpture, Architectural Fragments, and Terracottas.* Cambridge 1921.
Chr.	*Chronika* (in *Archaiologikon Deltion*).
Coldstream	J.N. Coldstream. *Knossos. The Sanctuary of Demeter* (supplementary volume 8, *BSA*). Oxford 1973.

Concise Guide	Y. Miliadis. *A concise Guide to the Acropolis Museum*. Translated by H. Wace. Athens 1965.
DPA	H. Gallet de Santerre. *Délos primitive et archaique*. Paris 1958.
Délos I-XXXIII	École Française d'Athènes. *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*. 33 volumes. Paris 1909-1980.
Ducat	J. Ducat. *Les Kouroi du Ptoion*. Paris 1971.
Dyggve	E. Dyggve & F. Poulsen. *Das Laphrion Der Tempelbezirk von Kalydon*. Copenhagen 1948.
Ep.Chr.	*Epeirotika Chronika*.
FdD V (1908)	École française d'Athènes. H. Perdrizet. *Fouilles de Delphes* V: *Monuments figurés. Petits bronzes, terrecuites, antiquités diverses*. Paris 1908.
FdD V.2	École française d'Athènes. C. Rolley. *Fouilles de Delphes* V.2: *Les statuettes de Bronze*. Paris 1969.
Fd'E	P. Cavvadias. *Fouilles d'Épidaure*. Athens 1891.
Festschrift	*Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Karl Dörner*. Leiden 1978.
Frickenhaus	A. Frickenhaus. *Die Hera von Tiryns* (*Tiryns*. Vol. I). Athens 1912, Mainz 1976.
Furtwängler	A. Furtwängler. *Das Heiligtum der Aphala*. Munich 1906.
Hammond	N.G.L. Hammond. *Epirus*. Oxford 1967.
Higgins. I & II	R.A. Higgins. *Catalogue of the terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. British Museum. Vols. I & II. London 1954, 1959.
Hogarth	D.G. Hogarth. *Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemision*. London 1908.
XI International Congress	*Greece and Italy in the classical world. Acta of the XI international congress of classical archaeology*. Ed. J.N. Coldstream & M.A.R. Colledge. London 1979.
Jacobsthal	P. Jacobsthal. *Greek pins and their connexions with Europe and Asia*. Oxford 1956.
Kilian	K. Kilian. *Fibeln in Thessalien von der Mykenischen bis zur Archaischen Zeit*. Munich 1975.
LexIc	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologie Classicae*. Vols. I & II. Zurich & Munich 1981, 1984.

Lindos I	C.S. Blinkenberg. *Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914.* Vol. I. *Les petits objets.* Berlin 1931.
Lindos III	E. Dyggve & F. Poulsen. *Lindos. Fouilles de L'Acropole 1902-1914 et 1952.* Vol. III. *Le sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'Architecture Lindienne.* Berlin & Copenhagen 1960.
Mylonas	G.E. Mylonas. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries.* Princeton 1961.
Naukratis I	W.M.F. Petrie. *Naukratis I (1884-1885).* (Third memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund). London 1886.
Newton. *History* II	C.T. Newton. *A History of discoveries at Halicarnassus Cnidus and Branchidae.* Vol. II. London 1863.
Newton. *Travels* I	*Id. Travels and Discoveries in the Levant.* Vol. I. London 1865.
Olympia III	G. Treu. *Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon.* (*Olympia Ergebnisse* III). Berlin 1897.
Olympia IV	A. Furtwängler. *Die Bronzen von Olympia.* (*Olympia. Ergebnisse* IV). Berlin 1890.
Payne	H. Payne & G.M. Young. *Archaic marble sculpture from the Acropolis.* London 1936.
Perachora I	H. Payne & others. *Perachora; the sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia.* (Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 1930-1933). Vol. I. *Architecture, bronzes, terracottas.* Oxford 1940.
Perachora II	T.J. Dunbabin. *Ibid.* Vol. II. *Pottery, ivories, scarabs and other objects from the votive deposit of Hera Limenia.* Oxford 1962.
Richter	G.M.A. Richter. *Animals in Greek sculpture.* Oxford 1930.
de Ridder	A. de Ridder. *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur L'Acropole d'Athènes.* Paris 1896.
Roscher	W.H.R. Roscher. *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.* Leipzig 1884-1937.
Rouse	W.H.D. Rouse. *Greek votive offerings.* Cambridge 1902.
Rubensohn	O. Rubensohn. *Das Delion von Paros.* Wiesbaden 1962.
Samos VII	G. Schmidt. *Samos VII: Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos.* Bonn 1968.

Samos VIII	U. Jantzen. *Samos VIII: Agyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos.* Bonn 1972.
Samos XI	B. Freyer-Schauenburg. *Samos XI: Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils.* Bonn 1974.
Sinn	U. Sinn. "Ein Fundkomplex aus dem Artemis-Heiligtum von Lousoi im Badischen Landesmuseum". *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Wurttemberg.* 17 (1980) pp. 25-40.
Themelis	P. Themelis. *Brauron. Guide to the Site and Museum.* Athens 1971.
Van Buren	E. Van Buren. *Greek fictile revetments in the Archaic period.* Washington DC 1973.
Waldstein I & II	C. Waldstein. *The Argive Heraeum.* Vols. I & II. Boston & New York 1905.
Walter	H. Walter. *Das Heraion von Samos. Ursprung und Wandel eines griechischen Heiligtums.* Munich & Zurich 1976.
O. Walter. *Beschreibung*	O. Walter. *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolis museum in Athen.* Vienna 1923.
Wood	J.T. Wood. *Discoveries at Ephesus, including the site and remains of the Great Temple of Diana.* London 1877.

The horizontal lines between some items in Appendix 8 indicate a division between one deity's sanctuaries and those of another.

Where a number quoted in a footnote or in Appendix 8 is unprefixed by "p." or "pp.", reference is being made to a catalogue number in the work (e.g. De Ridder. 530).

The numbers in the margin of the text (1-52) refer to the plates at the end of the thesis.

Transliteration

I have tried to be as consistent as possible in the spelling of Greek names; but there are cases in which familiar usage conflicts with absolute consistency. Thus (for example) I have referred to "Knossos", but also (following C.T. Newton's practice) to "Cnidus".

INTRODUCTION

(1) Aims of the thesis

The more lasting objects dedicated by worshippers to the deities of ancient Greece took many forms, and varied greatly in size, value and function. Among these dedications are a considerable group comprising representations of different animals, from marble statues to small figurines of clay and other materials. In addition to these images, many artefacts whose function was not primarily representational were conspicuously decorated with animal *motifs*. My object in this thesis will be to examine the reports of finds at a number of sanctuaries, and to see if any correspondence between the various species represented, and the identity of the deities to whom they were dedicated, may be discerned. I shall attempt to determine whether certain kinds of animals were more frequently offered to some deities than to others; and also to explain the material evidence of distribution, in the light of the knowledge about religious beliefs and practices which ancient literature affords.

This is scarcely a new subject for speculation, since archaeologists have often naturally looked for religious significance in artefacts uncovered by the excavation of a sanctuary; and W.H.D. Rouse, in his study of votive offerings, discussed the topic at some length[1]. Rouse believed that the occupation and circumstances of the dedicator were of greater importance in his choice of offering than the identity of the god; and more particularly, that animal models do not appear to differ according to the deity in question[2]. But Rouse's work, valuable though it still is, was not based on any systematic examination of archaeological evidence; and in any case, since its publication much new material has come to light. In re-examining in more detail the

subject of animal-representations, I shall attempt to see if there are any grounds for modifying Rouse's general conclusion in certain areas. I hope that in the process some new light may be shed on the worship of Olympian deities.

(2) The evidence under examination

(a) Deities and their sanctuaries

Of all the Olympian deities, it is Artemis who from the time of Homer was acknowledged as the mistress of wild animals[3] and as the goddess of hunting[4]. She, more than any other deity, it is to be supposed, was a likely recipient for certain types of animal, as their killer and protectress. I have therefore started this investigation with Artemis, and examined the archaeological accounts of as many of her sanctuaries as possible, principally in mainland Greece and in the islands, but also in Asia Minor and Africa, so as to include her important shrines at Ephesos and Cyrene. As examples of cult-places in the West, I have also considered the finds from her small cave-sanctuary at Scala Greca in Sicily, and looked at the reports (incomplete as they are) of the shrine at Aricia beside Lake Nemi, which was known to Pausanias[5] (see Appendix 1).

The sanctuaries excavated at Pherai and Kalapodi, whose patron-deities have not been identified with certainty, have also been included with the known sanctuaries of Artemis, since the literary and inscriptional evidence, and the nature of both sites (outside the nearest city and beside a stream[6]) constitute a better claim for Artemis than for other deities. Pheraian Artemis was the principal deity of the city[7], and her status is consistent with the importance of this sanctuary as it has been revealed by excavation[8]. The excavators of the Kalapodi

sanctuary believed that it may have belonged to Artemis Elaphebolia of Hyampolis[9]. No clear or complete inscriptions have been found on the site to confirm this identification[10], but a liberation document which came to light at Valtetsi about a mile to the East, stipulates that the *stele* was to be placed in the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolia and Apollo[11]. The site is about five kilometres to the north of ancient Hyampolis[12], but as the city of Abai lay only a mile to the east of Hyampolis, the excavated sanctuary might have belonged to the principal deity of that city, who was Apollo[13]. But whichever sanctuary the Kalapodi remains are to be identified with, it is probable that both Apollo and Artemis were worshipped in it, the question being one of emphasis. Two adjacent temples of unequal size have been uncovered there[14].

Literary evidence shows that Artemis was not the only deity to be associated with certain animals and birds. They were of course sacrificed to all the gods; and their images have been found in the sanctuaries of many. In examining the animal-representations dedicated to other deities, I focussed special attention on Apollo and Athena, as gods whose characters seemed to provide a clear contrast to that of Artemis: Apollo as the male god most frequently associated with her, and Athena as a female deity whose role as a protectress of cities (reflected in her many acropolis-sanctuaries) differs most sharply from that of a goddess of hunting and wild creatures. These two, moreoever, were it seems particularly well-endowed with sanctuaries[15]; so that it was possible to look at a considerable number of them, both in mainland Greece and in the islands (Appendices 2 and 3).

Dedicated objects from some sanctuaries of Demeter, Zeus, Hera and Poseidon have also been considered, including the rich and well-documented sites at Olympia, Samos and Perachora (Appendices 4-7);

but I have not included sanctuaries of Aphrodite, Dionysos or Hermes in this study, principally because comparatively few of them have been excavated and published. On the other hand, the Archaic sanctuaries at Prinias and Lato in Crete, and Aphaia's sanctuary in Aegina,are of interest as examples of cults which never came to be identified with any Olympian deity (although Aphaia as a huntress and virgin is associated with Artemis), but whose goddesses were similar to Orthia, Lindia, and other local divinities eventually taken over by the Olympians. The Cretan background not only of the Lato and Prinias goddesses, but also of Aphaia[16], has some relevance to the question of the Bronze Age ancestry of Olympian goddesses[17]. The types of animal-representations dedicated at these three sanctuaries have also therefore been examined.

In the assessment of evidence from some sanctuaries, the problem arises that more than one deity is known to have been worshipped inside the same *temenos*, so that the recipient of a dedicated object cannot be identified with certainty. This is probably true of the Kalapodi sanctuary, but the most notable example is Olympia, where not only Zeus, but Hera had a temple, and where sixty-six subsidiary altars of various deities were known to Pausanias[18](see Figure 1). Artefacts were offered to the deities of these altars as well as to Zeus, as the discovery and excavation of one, the altar of Artemis near the south-east building, makes plain[19]. But the possibility that one or more female deity may have been worshiped at Olympia before Zeus became the chief patron of the sanctuary has also been entertained by various scholars, and there are some grounds for it[20]. The site itself beside the river Alpheios is of a type more often associated with a fertility-goddess like Artemis Orthia, than with a god whose typical cult-place was on a mountain-top[21]. Mt Kronos, which overlooks the Altis (and on which sacrifices were still made to

Kronos in Pausanias' time[22]) is a more likely setting for the cult of Olympian Zeus. Nevertheless, by the eighth century, during which the Games were initiated according to tradition, Zeus was probably established as the principal deity at Olympia; and it seems reasonable to accept most of the votives as his, except when the evident propinquity of their find-spots to the altar of another deity, suggests a rival claim. An alternative procedure would be to omit from the investigation all sanctuaries where more than one deity is known to have had a cult; and this would exclude not only the Acropolis of Athens (where Poseidon and Artemis Brauronia were worshipped as well as Athena) and the Samian Heraion (where Aphrodite and Hermes had their temple), but a number of other sanctuaries, including some of Apollo, where Artemis was (or may have been) worshipped with her twin brother[23]. In fact, when the history of almost any sanctuary is examined closely, it is difficult to be sure that it housed only one deity. The votives of Olympia, the Athenian Acropolis *etc*, will therefore be considered in this study; for even when their significance with regard to an individual deity is uncertain, they may help to determine the character of a sanctuary, and perhaps in doing so to increase our understanding of the deities (by whatever name they were called) who were worshipped in that specific locality[24].

(b) Objects of dedication (see Appendix 8)

The archaeological evidence examined in this thesis includes the objects dedicated in sanctuaries which either represent, or are decorated by an animal, with the exception of vase-paintings. Thus figurines and reliefs, dedicated for the sake of the representation itself, will be considered; but also objects which though decorated with an

animal-*motif*, served purposes of their own, like vessels, seals and jewellery. A large proportion of these objects were dedicated during the Geometric and Archaic periods; but no chronological limitation will be imposed on the material under discussion, provided that it was brought into the sanctuary as an offering to its deity. Even late dedications can throw some light on the traditions and history of a sanctuary and the evolving nature of its deity, as well as on contemporary practice[25]. On the other hand, Bronze Age animal-representations discovered in the sanctuary of an Olympian deity have also been taken into account, because they were quite often dedicated to the deity in a later period. For example, several Mycenean gems were dedicated to Artemis Orthia, whose sanctuary is not believed to have been the site of any Mycenean settlement or cult[26]. The deposit beneath the Archaic Artemision of Delos, which contained a collection of Mycenean objects, was probably placed there by the builders of the temple[27]; but unlike Artemis Orthia's sanctuary, the Delian Artemision was apparently established on the site of a Bronze Age cult. The presence of objects like this in a site used during the Mycenean and historic periods suggested to Gallet de Santerre that there had been continuity of worship[28]. It is not the aim of this thesis to examine the question of continuity, but the question is itself relevant to any assessment of the character and origins of a deity, in so far as animal-dedications may help to interpret it. Mycenean artefacts have been found in other historic sanctuaries where Bronze Age occupation of some sort is indicated (for example at Kalapodi, and the sanctuaries of Apollo Maleatas, Aphaia,and Demeter in Knossos) and where their presence (not contained within a special deposit made in the historic period, as at Delos) may be purely accidental; but even here, the worshippers of an Olympian deity may have been aware of them, and possibly regarded them as the property of the deity[29].

The independent statuette or relief of an animal may be expected to have more significance as a dedication than the animal *motif* which decorates another object, since in the first case the dedicator bases his choice on the value of the object and on what it represents, while in the second case its practical function may be an additional element in his choice. But this inquiry is based on the hypothesis that decorative features may have a more than decorative significance. There are indeed some grounds for the supposition, in that a *motif* may recur in different materials and forms, at the same sanctuary. At Ephesos, for example, representations of hawks were presented to Artemis not only as figurines, but also as decorations for brooches and pendants. At Kalymnos, where Apollo's temple was possibly decorated with a frieze of the griffins associated with him in Hyperborean regions, a sword with a griffin's head handle may also have been regarded as an appropriate dedication for this deity[30]. Again, the most common type of terracotta figurine from the Nemean sanctuary of Zeus is the horse with a rider; so the same *motif* stamped on the handle of a strigil may well have had some special significance for the sanctuary, and be more than an accidental decoration. J.M. Stubbings believed that some ivory seals of the eighth and seventh centuries may have been made specially for dedication[31]. Thus an ostensibly "useful" object may never have been intended for use, so that the worshipper who acquired it as an offering may have attached prime importance to its decorative *motif*, and a lion engraved on a button or seal could have been chosen with as much deliberation as an independent bronze figurine of the same animal. The possibility that the decoration of objects with an ostensibly non-representational function had some religious significance, is one justification for including them in a discussion of animal-representations dedicated

in sanctuaries. But the practical difficulty of making an absolute distinction between independent and decorative representations is an additional justification for considering both.

(c) Architectural decorations

The principal object inside a sanctuary which may sometimes be decorated with representations of animals is not the offering of any individual worshipper, but the temple itself, the receptacle for the deity's cult-statue. C.M. Robertson has pointed out that the god to whom a temple belonged was not necessarily shown in its exterior decoration, and that sometimes another god might appear there[32]. In accord with this decorative freedom, it is not to be expected that an animal depicted on the building (for example, the lion's head water-spout which became an accepted convention) was always of signficance with regard to the deity. A crouching lion, for example, fits well into the corners of any pediment, and a chariot drawn by horses makes an imposing central *motif*. Yet some architectural decorations are clearly relevant to the deity, and to his or her cult - like the pedimental sculptures and frieze of the Parthenon. The beasts of prey on the pediment of Artemis' Archaic Temple in Corcyra must express an aspect of the *potnia theron* to whom it belonged; as the sea-creatures of Poseidon's Hellenistic temple in Tinos express his power over the sea. Not only animal-representations which were dedicated to the gods by their worshippers, but also those which sometimes adorned their temples or altars will therefore be considered in this study.

(d) Animal remains

Perhaps the most essential offering to be made to a god in most (if not all) sanctuaries was the sacrificial animal: literature from Homer to the end of antiquity provides clear evidence of the importance of burnt offerings. The Parthenon frieze depicts sacrificial victims being led in the sacred procession; and some dedications found in sanctuaries take the form of reliefs showing similar rituals on a smaller and private scale. It has indeed been suggested that some separate models of animals may commemorate or take the place of a living sacrifice[33]. Since the question of sacrifice is relevant to a discussion of the significance of animal-representations, it is helpful to look at any direct material evidence of the practice in a particular sanctuary, that is, at the animal remains which have come to light there. A high proportion of the bones of any one animal, when it coincides with a preponderance of the same species among the representations of animals in a sanctuary, will suggest that the images have a sacrificial meaning; while the bones of an unusual kind of animal or bird may also shed light on the character of a deity. Unfortunately, the sanctuaries where animal-bones have been discovered, analysed and recorded are relatively few, and the evidence they offer is therefore limited. The presence of such remains as boars' tusks or the antlers of deer may be evidence not of sacrifice, but of the dedication by hunters of part of their quarry. As in a sense the dedicated part of an animal stood for the whole, they may also properly be considered with visual representations of the whole animal.

(e) Literary evidence (see Appendix 9)

Dedicated objects, architectural decorations, and animal remains, all discovered in sanctuaries, thus constitute the archaeological data

which is the primary object of study in this thesis. The other kind of evidence, which in embodying knowledge of the Olympian gods and their worship, may throw some light on the archaeological material, is literary. Not that I have found any literary reference to the small votives, the figurines, plaques and other ornaments presented by worshippers of modest means, which form the greater part of the artefacts to be discussed here. But there are accounts by writers such as Herodotus and Pausanias of more imposing dedications (few of which have survived) and of the most striking visual features of sanctuaries, which give an indication of their special character, and how the various gods worshipped in them were regarded. Sometimes this in its turn can suggest why smaller objects were dedicated. Literature can also be informative on the subject of burnt offerings, from the bulls chosen by the heroes of Homer as a sacrifice to Poseidon[34], to the wild animals which Pausanias saw thrown onto a bonfire by the worshippers of Artemis Laphria[35]. Pausanias' account of this goddess is a reminder that deities were called by a number of titles in addition to their general name, and that some of these titles (for example, the similar-sounding *Elaphia*, which was also applied to Artemis) were derived from the names of animals. Epithets like *Elaphia* suggest a relationship between deity and animal, and literature (supplemented by inscriptions) is a valuable source of information on the topic. A fourth area of literary evidence, which is not directly concerned with sanctuaries and cults, is the mythology which grew up round the gods about their relations not only with each other and with human beings, but also with animals. As a commentary on the worship of the gods and on votive custom, this kind of literary data cannot be interpreted with any certainty. Nevertheless, like the divine epithets referring to animals, it can provide insights into

a deity's associations with certain animals. Tales of some metamorphoses, in particular, have been interpreted by scholars such as Frazer and Cook as memories of a primitive religion in which gods were worshipped in the shapes of animals and birds. I believe that not only descriptions of sanctuaries and sacrifice, but also myths, and information about divine titles may usefully be consulted in a discussion of votive offerings; although the conclusions to be drawn from the last two areas of knowledge can only be tentative. At least the animal associations, and even the partly animal nature of the complex deities worshipped by the Greeks, should not be forgotten in any attempt to understand the representations of beasts found in their sanctuaries.

The literature consulted in this study has not been limited to the period in which most of the votives were dedicated. It covers the whole of antiquity from Homer to church fathers like Clement of Alexandria, and even extends to scholarly Byzantine works. Thus only a few works (such as those of Homer and Hesiod) can be regarded as anything like contemporary with the bulk of the archaeological material. Pausanias' invaluable description of the sanctuaries of Greece, in which details of cult-statues and their attributes, and of the larger dedications are given, was written a thousand years later than Homer, when many of the artefacts to be discussed here were already hidden under the earth. Yet although he visited the sanctuaries during the Imperial period, much of what Pausanias saw was centuries old; while some if not all of the stories and traditions which he was told were probably equally long-established; so his account has retrospective value. Similarly, the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, written perhaps in the first century AD, records legends and knowledge about religion whose earlier sources are now lost, but which may have existed for as long as Homeric

legend itself. This may be said of Hesychius' lexicon, a work of the fifth or sixth century AD in which a considerable number of divine titles are linked to the deities with which they were by tradition associated; and even of the *scholia* on Homer, Pindar and the dramatists, some of which (like Eustathius' commentary) were written as late as the twelfth century AD. It is certainly possible that some myths in later works were literary conceits or recent inventions; but even such fables may mirror (although possibly they also distort) concepts of deities, evolved during centuries of worship. It is possible, similarly, that some cult-practices were of late invention. The flogging ritual of Artemis Orthia, for example, is not mentioned by any author earlier than Cicero[36]; and details of the sacred procession from Ephesos to the Artemision are known only through a fictional work of the second or third century AD[37]. But like the myths of a later period, the practices which develop in a sanctuary with the passing of time may well express an aspect of the deity and cult which has existed (though not necessarily in that form) from the beginning. I hope this is justification enough for using the literature of all periods of antiquity as a source of knowledge about the Greek gods, their legends and their cults, which may be applied to an examination of the votives found in their sanctuaries.

(f) The potnia theron

There remains a final source of information which is relevant to the assessment of animal-representations in sanctuaries: the iconography of the unnamed Bronze Age and Archaic goddess accompanied by animals, generally known by the title which Homer applied to Artemis, the *potnia theron*. The type has been described in detail by Professor C.A. Christou in his book on the subject; and a large number of

illustrations have now been collected by Professor Lilly Kahil in the second volume of the *Lexicon Iconographicum* under the heading of "Artemis"[38], although neither the *potnia theron* as defined by Christou nor all the illustrations in the *Lexicon* necessarily refer to Artemis.

Some representations of the *potnia* with one or more animals were found in the sanctuaries examined in this study, and are therefore listed with the dedications. Where the animals depicted with the goddess in a sanctuary, are also represented in isolation there, the possibility that the animal-images were regarded as an attribute of the deity, and dedicated for this reason, will then be considered. But examples of the female with animals either not found in a sanctuary or of no recorded provenance will also be cited, when they help to illumine the question of goddesses and their animal-associations. Some Bronze Age examples are of special interest in a consideration of the prehistoric origins of Olympian goddesses.

In the interpretation of separate animal-representations in sanctuaries, the complex nature of the relationship between the *potnia* and her animals or birds will be noticed; for the goddess many either hold the creature
43/
44 by its neck or hind-leg in a fierce and dominating manner, or stand with it in a more companionable or protective attitude; and the meaning of separate animal-representations dedicated in a sanctuary may be similarly ambiguous. But the significance of the animals need not be so literal: as Christou and other scholars have pointed out, they symbolize aspects of the goddess' nature and powers. If the gods were really once conceived as animals, the *potnia theron* (and her rarer male equivalent) may mark a stage in their anthropomorphosization, the animal element in their nature now being external to the human form, but still within the deity's grasp. The varied image of the *potnia*,

which underlines the importance of the animal world in Greek religion, is therefore of some relevance to this discussion of the animal representations found in sanctuaries.

Footnotes

1. W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek votive offerings*, Cambridge 1902.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 63-69; pp. 380-384.

3. "Πότνια θηρῶν Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη". *Iliad*. XXI. 470.

4. e.g. *Iliad* XX. 70-71; *Homeric Hymns* XXVII.

5. Pausanias II. 27.4.

6. W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835. Vol. 4, p. 440; Y. Bequignon, *Recherches Archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie*, Paris 1937, pp. 29-30; *RE* Suppl. VII (1950) 99. For Kalapodi, see *AAA* 8 (1975) p. 1.

   Three of the richest of Artemis' excavated sanctuaries (those of Ephesos, Brauron and Artemis Orthia) have riverside settings outside cities; among those sanctuaries of Artemis whose natural setting is indicated by Pausanias, more are located in rural well-watered places than in other kinds of landscape.

7. See Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 259.

8. An alternative claim has been made for Zeus Thaulios as patron of the sanctuary, since an inscription to this deity was found in the vicinity, though not inside the *temenos* (see Bequignon, *Op. cit.* p. 66). But a *stele* inscribed to Enodia was also found (see *PAE* 1924 p. 108). Enodia was a Thessalian goddess identified with Artemis and with Hekate, both of whom were given her name as a title (see T. Kraus, *Hekate. Studien zu Wesen und Bild der Göttin in Kleinasien und Griechenland*. Heidelberg 1960, pp. 77-8; *ADelt* 1 (1915) *Par.* p. 56; *Orphic Hymn to Hekate*, 1; Artemidorus *Oneirocriticon* II.37; P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*. Vol. I Athens 1891, p. 52, no. 87; p. 57, no. 126). Moreover, the temple was destroyed, probably in the fourth century BC, and never rebuilt (Bequignon *Op. cit.* p. 30); and this would explain why the ancient wooden cult-statue had been transported to Sikyon (or alternatively to Argos) by Pausanias' time (II.10.6; II.23.5).

9. Plutarch, *Moralia* 244e; Pausanias X.35.4; *AAA* 8 (1975), p. 24.

10. An Archaic sherd is scratched AP (for Artemis?); and a Hellenistic marble statue-base has the letters ΑΠΟ (for Apollo?) (*AA* 95 (1980), pp. 41-42).

11. *ADelt* 2 (1916) pp. 263-268.

12. N.D. Papahadzis, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, Athens 1974-1981, Vol V, p. 439.

13. See Pausanias X 35. 2-3; *AA* 95 (1980) pp. 41-42.

14. *BCH* 104 (1980) pp. 625-7.

15. In the Geometric period at least, the known sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena were easily the most numerous (J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977 p. 327).

16. Pausanias II. 30.3.

17. See below, Cattle pp. 93-94.

18. K. Wernicke "Die Altäre von Olympia" *Jdl* 9 (1894) pp. 88-101.

19. *ADelt* 18 (1963) pp. 107-110; *Ol Forsch* XII. p. 21.

20. At Olympia, as at Delphi, there was a sanctuary of Earth, a chasm in the ground (whose exact position is now unknown) suggesting at least the tradition of an earlier female deity [Pausanias V.14.10]. The myth of Eileithyia and the snake-child Sosipolis (who had a double sanctuary) reflects a cult of mother and child divinities [*Ibid* VI.20.2-5]. The sanctuary of Demeter Cham yne [*Ibid* VI.21.1] hints at a similar cult; since the title ("She who lies on the ground") probably refers to the myth in which Demeter lay with Iasius on a thrice-ploughed field in Crete, and gave birth to Plutus as a result [*Odyssey* V.125-8; Hesiod, *Theogony* 969-971. Cf JG Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* London 1898. IV. p. 86]. Iasius was one of the Kouretes who guarded the infant Zeus in Crete, and came to Olympia where (according to one tradition) they founded the Games (Pausanias V.7.6-7]. The sacred marriage element in Demeter Chamayne's myth is echoed in the story of Pelops, since the object of the chariot-race was to win a bride, and found a dynasty. Ludwig Drees believed that Pelops and Hippodameia, whose sanctuaries Pausanias saw inside the Altis [*Ibid* V.13.1-3; V.22.2] were fertility deities superseded by Olympian Zeus and Hera [L. Drees *Olympia* London 1968 p. 15].

All these myths suggest that Zeus may have made his appearance at Olympia either as the child (as in Crete) or as the consort of a female deity. More than one scholar (apart from Drees) has supported the idea of an older goddess at Olympia. Papahadzis believes that both Hera and Eileithyia were worshipped in the sanctuary before Zeus; not only because of Hera's older temple, and enthroned cult-statue [see Penguin Pausanias Vol 2 p. 245, note 153; Boardman Fig. 73], but because the feminine form of the name Olympia is the title of a female deity, and was in fact applied to Hera at one of the altars [Pausanias V.14.8; Papahadzis Vol III (1979) p. 372, note 1]. Weniger believed that not only the Earth-goddess (Gaia), Demeter, Eileithyia and above all Hera were at Olympia before Zeus, but also Artemis, to whom (apart

from Zeus) the greatest number of altars were sacred [*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur*. 10 (1907) pp. 96 ff]. Ulrich Sinn saw archaeological grounds for this opinion in the similarity of the clay figurines dedicated to Artemis Limnatis at Kombothreka to those found in the Altis; and concluded that the earlier of the Olympian figurines may also have been dedicated to her, as an agrarian fertility-goddess. Sinn went so far as to suggest that Zeus was not established as the principal deity of Olympia until the sixth century BC [*AM* 96 (1981) pp. 25, 40-43].

21. Pausanias mentions only one other riverside setting for a sanctuary of Zeus, in Laconia beside the Eurotas (III.19.6); whereas he makes note of sixteen mountain-top sanctuaries or altars.

22. Pausanias VI.20.1.

23. There are indications, for example, of a cult of Artemis at Delphi. Aeschines, writing in the fourth century BC, stated that the gods associated with the shrine of Delphi were Pythian Apollo, Artemis, Leto and Athena Pronaia [*Against Ctesiphon* 108 (Loeb Aeschines pp. 393 and 403)]; and Diodorus Siculus later noted the presence there of a very ancient temple of Artemis (as well as that of Athena Pronaia) [Diodorus XXII.9.5]. A long inscription from the sanctuary dating from the late fifth century, and listing the feasts that the confraternity of the Labyadai were obliged to attend, includes one of Artemis Eukleia, and one of Laphria [*BCH* 19 (1895) pp. 5-69, pp. 21-24; *RA* 1973. pp. 60 and 77]. Finally, the fragmentary fourth century relief of a cult-scene from the sanctuary, has what is evidently the beginning of an inscribed dedication to Artemis (APTE ...) in the top left-hand quarter [*FdD* IV.6 p. 37 Fig. 23].

24. See (for example) below: Horses pp. 204-206, and Dogs pp. 122-123.

25. For example, the iron sickles which during the Imperial period were awarded to Spartan youths who won competitions held in honour of Artemis Orthia, may have been a reference to the early agrarian character of the goddess (R.M. Dawkins *Artemis Orthia* (*JHS* Suppl. 5) London 1929 p. 312 Fig. 138; and p. 406).

26. *AO* pp. 378-9, Pl. 204; p. 399.

27. H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958 p. 91.

28. *Ibid* p. 127.

29. At Demeter's Knossos sanctuary, some of the Bronze Age artefacts were found with later dedications, and like them may have been offered to Demeter; but alternatively they "could have been churned up from the Minoan earth below". J.N. Coldstream *Knossos. The Sanctuary of Demeter* (*BSA* Suppl. 8) Oxford 1973 p. 180.

30. C.T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* Vol I London 1865 pp. 308-9; 315-16.

31. *Perachora* II p. 411.

32. CM. Robertson *A history of Greek art* London 1975 p. 166.

33. Rouse *Op. cit* p. 18.

34. *Odyssey* I.25; III.6; III.178-182; XI.131; XIII.181-2.
Iliad XX.403-406.

35. Pausanias VII.18.6-7.

36. Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* II.34; *AO* p. 405.

37. Xenophon of Ephesos *Habrocomes and Antheia* I.2.6-7.

38. CA. Christou *Potnia Theron* Thessaloniki 1968;
Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae II. Zurich and Munich 1984. "Artemis", esp. nos 2-5; 9-10; 12-18; 21-50.

1. BEARS (see Appendix 8.1)

A. Literary evidence

(i) Sacrifice

In his description of Patras, Pausanias gives a first-hand account of the festival of Artemis Laphria, during which live game animals were thrown onto a bonfire as offerings for the goddess. Among those victims, the writer notes the presence of bear-cubs, and even witnessed the attempts of one bear to escape the flames[1]. It is thus evident that bears, which in ancient times lived wild in all parts of Greece, might on occasion be sacrificed to a god. There is additional evidence for their role as sacrificial victim in the Scholiasts' Commentary on line 645 of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. The commentator, offering *aetia* for the Brauronian *arkteia*, tells the story of Iphigeneia's sacrifice by Agamemnon, in return for a favourable wind to Troy[2]. According to the most common version of the legend, Iphigeneia's place on the altar was taken at the last moment by a deer. In the *Lysistrata* commentary, however, the substitute victim is a bear[3].

(ii) Sacred bears

Animals which are sacrificed to a god may also be protected by the same deity (an ambiguity perhaps reflected earlier in the different ways in which the Archaic *potnia theron* holds her wild beasts). Artemis and the deer which she hunts or caresses provides the clearest example of this dual relationship. But the bear, too, could be the object of her protection. The other *aetion* given by the Scholiast for the Brauronian *arkteia*, concerns the goddess' anger at the killing of her sacred bear by some Athenian youths. In this story Artemis, in revenge, visited

Athens with a plague, and consented to remove it only if a number of small girls from the city served as *arktoi*, or bears, in her Mysteries[4]. A very similar bear-myth was told about the sanctuary of Mounychian Artemis at Piraeus; although here the expiation for the bear's death involved not a bear-cult, but the sacrifice of a girl[5]. Thus in one story explaining the Brauron cult the bear is fiercely protected by the goddess, while in the other (as in the cult of Artemis Laphria) it is sacrificed to her.

At Brauron, in whose precinct Iphigeneia was supposed to have been buried, the cult is essentially based on the sacredness of the bear. The festival held there was known as the *arkteia*, and the girls who were temporarily servants of Artemis, sacred to her, were themselves called bears. Two fragments of fifth century Attic *krateriskoi* published by Lilly Kahil seem to confirm these literary indications of a sacred bear-cult, by suggesting that a real bear, or some close imitation of one, may have played its part in the ritual. The fragments belong to a private collection, and their provenance is unknown; but Professor Kahil has demonstrated the close connection of such *krateriskoi*, and of the scenes painted on some of them, with the Attic sanctuaries and cults of Artemis[6]. One of the fragments shows some naked girls in a race, and a bear standing by a palm-tree, while above is a frieze of deer hunted by dogs[7]. The other shows a naked man wearing a bear's mask; while to link the scene clearly with Artemis, it also shows the goddess, accompanied by Apollo and Leto, shooting a deer[8]. The small naked girls could be interpreted as mock-sacrificial victims to the bear, who stands under Artemis' sacred tree. (The idea of the sacrifice of a girl for a bear is implicit in Eustathius' story of Mounychia.)

A deity outside the Olympian Pantheon, in whose cult bears are imagined as taking part, is Cybele. Her night-festival, described by Nonnus in the *Dionysiaca*, itself seems to resemble a rout of Dionysos (whose delight in the dancing of wild beasts is mentioned by Pindar[9]). Here, according to Nonnus, lions and bears danced[10], which may mean that human dancers were masked as beasts. (Pollux refers to dances in which lions were imitated, in connection with both Dionysos and Artemis[11]).

(iii) Other bear-myths

The substitution for Iphigeneia of a bear, and the designation of little girls as *arktoi* hints at the concept that human beings may be transformed to bears by divine will. The deity who brought this about, at Brauron as at Aulis, was Artemis; and in the more explicit Arcadian legend of Kallisto, it was again Artemis who caused a metamorphosis. Kallisto was one of her nymphs, who transgressed by becoming a mother, and the goddess, having given her a bear's shape, shot her[12]. Pausanias reports that a sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste near Skias in Arcadia, was actually situated on the mound that was Kallisto's tomb[13]. Arcadia produced a second bear-myth; and again, it concerns a girl who was associated with Artemis. Atalanta was a virgin huntress, a type of the goddess, who was taught by her to handle dogs, and to shoot well[14]. But in her infancy she was abandoned in the wild, and (perhaps already under Artemis' protection) survived because she was suckled by a she-bear[15].

(iv) The bear and motherhood

Kallisto's transformation into a bear came about through her impending motherhood, and when Artemis was given the title of Kalliste, it was probably as a goddess of childbirth: in her Athenian sanctuary

of that name, several of the objects dedicated make it clear that she was regarded in this character[16]. The bear acted as a mother towards Atalanta; and Iphigeneia, Artemis' priestess at Brauron, was most likely in origin a childbirth goddess[17]. At this sanctuary, the setting for a bear-festival, the garments of women who had died in childbirth were dedicated[18], while the number of marble statuettes of small boys suggests that some votive offerings were made in the hope of, or thanks for a more successful birth[19].

The association of the bear with a mother-figure like Kallisto, and with the childbirth deity Iphigeneia at Brauron, is no doubt related to the opinion, prevalent in the ancient world, that the animal was an emblem and supreme pattern of motherhood. This aspect of the bear was discussed more than a century ago by J.J. Bachoffen[20]. It stemmed from a belief that bears not only gave birth to and nourished their young, like any other animal, but also licked the shapeless cubs into their proper form and beauty, thus being doubly creative as mothers[21]. A plastic and much earlier expression of the idea of the bear as mother may perhaps be seen in a seventh century Boeotian figurine in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens. This is a small she-bear, seated with its cub, in an attitude similar to the human *kourotrophos* so widely dedicated in sanctuaries[22]. Bachoffen refers to two sarcophagus decorations where the bear appears to figure as *kourotrophos* and substitute mother for orphaned human children. In each case a dead or dying mother is shown parting from her child, and watched over by a bear[23]. This seems particularly relevant to the cult at Brauron, where the clothes of dead mothers were dedicated, and is also consistent with tales of abandoned infants, like Atalanta, who were suckled by she-bears. Paris of Troy was another child adopted in this way[24].

(iv) Images of the bear in a sanctuary

One late piece of written evidence refers not to mythology or to symbolic associations, but to the physical appearance of an unspecified sanctuary of Artemis; and suggests, I believe, that representations of bears may have been a feature of more than one. This is part of Philostratus' description of a boar-hunt, in which the hunters stop to sing a hymn to Artemis Agrotera. The temple has a statue, smooth with age, but the writer also mentions "heads of boars and bears"[25]. It is possible that these are the heads of real carcasses, the spoils of the hunt: but perhaps it is more likely that they are the decorative marble water-spouts which more commonly take the form of lions' heads. Marble boars' heads of this type have been found in the temple of Artemis at Epidaurus, and also perhaps of Ephesos[26]; although as far as I know, bears' heads serving the same purpose have not yet been discovered.

B. Representation of bears in sanctuaries

Bears are among the most rarely dedicated animal-representations in Greek sanctuaries. Of the seven shrines noted by me, in which images of bears (or in one case bears' teeth) were found, three belonged wholly to Artemis; two are sanctuaries where although she is not the principal deity, she also had her cult and temple[27]; and in only two, the Argive Heraion, and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, is she not known to have been worshipped. The material evidence is sparse, but in view of the fact that the distribution in favour of Artemis is entirely consistent with literary evidence, I believe it allows us to infer that representations of bears were dedicated to her more than to other deities.

The only one of these dedications in which the goddess appears with an attendant bear is the marble relief from Claros ("dédié sans doute à Artémis Claria")[28], but Lilly Kahil has suggested that the marble bear from the Acropolis of Athens may have been not a dedication, but part of Artemis' cult-statue group in the Brauronion[29]. Such a propinquity of animal to goddess may argue a special relationship which is paralleled in the far more common *motif* of Artemis and the deer. The Claros relief has not been dated, but it is probably post-Archaic; and the Acropolis bear (if indeed it belonged to a group) is fourth century in date. So the direct iconographical association of the goddess with the bear is not only rare, but quite late. The independent representations of bears found at Artemis Orthia, however, are Archaic, and suggest that a more general association with Artemis or her local predecessor was already felt at an earlier period, at least in the Peloponnese.

The Acropolis bears may be especially relevant to the cult of Brauron; but as far as the publications reveal, no representations of the animal have been found at Brauron itself: the only surviving bears from that sanctuary are human *arktoi*: the fourth century marble statuettes of small girls. No early literary source for the Brauronian *aetion* is known; and in my opinion it is conceivable that the bear in the cult may have come to Attica from the Peloponnese at some time before the fifth century (as the *krateriskoi* fragments described above, and the *Lysistrata* reference to the *arktoi*, indicate); and found for itself an appropriate setting there in an old-established child-birth cult. The Arcadian myth of Kallisto (which shows the bear as a mother-figure) is at least as old as Hesiod. The Atalanta myth (which includes the episode of a bear as nurse to a human child) is also connected with Arcadia, since Atalanta was a native of Tegea; although by tradition

she hunted also in Laconia[30]. The bears of Artemis Orthia may thus have reflected an old and fairly local connection between bears and motherhood; and were appropriate dedications in a sanctuary where both Eileithyia[31] and Artemis herself[32] were worshipped as goddesses of childbirth. The adoption of the bear into the cult of another child-birth deity at Brauron (which paralleled that of Sparta in its claim to the wooden cult-statue brought from Tauris by Iphigeneia[33]) would have been natural enough. One of the only two bear-images listed here which were dedicated in a sanctuary where Artemis had no cult (it is possibly the earliest of all the representations), is the seventh century bronze human figurine with a bear's head, from Tegea. Its presence there may be explicable, perhaps, in the light of Atalanta's connection with the city (her part in the Kalydonian boar-hunt being represented on the East pediment of the temple[34]). But it may, alternatively refer to the Arcadian bear-deity, Kallisto, with whose metamorphosis the dual nature of the figure is consistent. Animal-headed deities seem to have been a feature of Arcadian cults: Demeter, having once changed herself into a mare, was represented at Phigalia with a horse's head[35]. The decorative reliefs on the veil of Despoina's Hellenistic cult-statue at Lykosoura depict both a horse-headed and a bear-headed figure; and these may also reflect the local transformation-myths, and the cults and beliefs which lie behind them[36].

C. Conclusion

Literary evidence on sacrifice, the origin of cults, the transformation of human girls into bear shape, and the appearance of at least one sanctuary, appears to be unanimous in linking these beliefs and stories of bears with one deity: the goddess Artemis. The few

representations of bears, which according to the reports have been discovered in sanctuaries, were nearly all (probably if not certainly) dedicated to Artemis; and their distribution, consistent as it is with the literary evidence, suggests that they were felt by worshippers to be appropriate offerings for this goddess. The bear-headed figurine at Tegea, though apparently dedicated to Athena, may well have referred to Arcadian Kallisto or Atalanta, who were both quite clearly connected, if not identified, with Artemis. As a goddess of hunting it is not surprising that she should be associated with a wild and hunted animal: the bonfire at Laphria, and the bears' teeth dedicated at Lousoi, must have been acknowledgements of this facet of her character. But the bear's role as mother and *kourotrophos* also makes it a suitable attribute for a deity often invoked as patron of reproduction in both animals and human beings, and as a guardian of mothers and their young.

Footnotes

1. Pausanias. VII.18.7.
2. Euripides. *Iphigeneia at Aulis*. 1587.
3. *Scholia Graeca in Lysistratam*. 645.
4. *Ibid. loc. cit.*
5. *Eustathius. Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*. II. 732.
6. Lilly Kahil. "Quelques vases du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron" *AntK , Beiheft* 1 (1963) pp 5-30;
   "Autour d' l'Artémis Attique". *AntK* 8 (1965) p. 20;
   "L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère". *Antk* 20 (1977) p.86;
   "La déesse Artémis. Mythologie et iconographie". *XI International Congress* pp. 73-86.
7. *Antk* 20 (1977) p. 90, pl. 19; *XI International Congress* p. 81, pl. 34a.
8. *Antk* 20 (1977) p. 90, pl. 19; *XI International Congress* p. 81, pl. 34b.

9. *Dithyramb for the Thebans* 19-23.

10. *Dionysiaca* III.70-74.

11. Pollux. *Onomastikon* 103-104.

12. Pausanias VIII.3.6; Hesiod *Astronomia* 3 (Loeb. Hesiod p. 69). In Ovid's version (*Metamorphoses* II.400-530) she is shot by her son Arkas. In Hesiod's version she is not shot, but changed by Zeus to the constellation of the bear.

13. Pausanias. VIII.35.8.

14. Callimachus. *Hymn to Artemis* 215-217.

15. Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. III.9.2. Atalanta is included in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (14), where she is described as swift-footed and virginal. The bear episode is not mentioned.

16. *BCH* 51 (1927) pp. 157-169. Especially Fig. 4 (p. 160), and pl. 8 (p. 162).

17. "Iphigenia" means "strong-born" [*LSJ*].

18. Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1464-7.

19. See below, "Dogs", p. 124.

20. J.J. Bachoffen. *Der Bär in den Religionen des Altertums*. Basel 1863 (esp. pp 4-5).

21. See Plutarch. *Moralia* 494 (on affection for offspring): "And the she-bear, the most savage and sullen of beasts, brings forth her young formless and without visible joints, and with her tongue, as with a tool, she moulds into shape their skin; and thus she is thought, not only to bear, but to fashion her cub." [Loeb Plutarch. Vol. VI. pp 338-9] *cf* Ovid. *Metamorphoses* XV.379-381; Pliny. *Natural History* VIII.126.

22. No. 18631 (Room II, upstairs).

23. Bachoffen. *Op. cit.* pp 27-28.

24. Apollodorus. *Op. cit.* III.12.5.

25. Philostratus. *Imagines* I.28.6.

26. *PAE* 1906. p. 96. Pl. C.2 and D.1 (Epidaurus).
J.T. Wood. *Discoveries at Ephesus* London 1877 p. 260.

27. The fragmentary terracotta bear from the north slope of the Acropolis is one of about 500 figurines and fragments, most of which were in all probability "dedicated to the divinities which were enshrined on the top of the hill". [*Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 189].

28. Charles Picard. *Ephèse et Claros*. Paris. 1922 p. 455.

29. *AntK* 20 (1977) p. 94.

30. Pausanias. III.24.2.

31. *Ibid*. III.17.1.

32. The commentators on Pindar's third Olympic Ode (line 54) explain Artemis' similar title of Orthosia in terms of her care for women in childbirth and new-born babies. It is perhaps relevant to our topic that they note the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis Orthosia in the Kerameikos of Athens; since this may probably be identified with the Artemis Kalliste shrine referred to above (p. 20 note 16) [Boeckhius. Vol. II. 101-2].

33. Pausanias. I.23.9; I.33.1; III.7.1.

34. Pausanias. VIII.45.6.

35. *Ibid*. VIII.25.5; VIII.42.4.

36. *BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 367. pl. 16.

BIRDS (see Appendix 8.2)

A. Categorization of birds

Birds, as plastic objects in themselves, or as decorations on other items, were very frequently dedicated to the gods, especially during the Geometric and early Archaic periods[1]. Just as they were a favourite *motif* on Late Geometric painted vases, so the early bronze figurines dedicated in sanctuaries often took this form. Typically at that time, they had long necks, beaks or legs; and this type has been interpreted by some scholars as water-birds[2]. It is impossible to be certain in every case whether the creators of these primitive likenesses intended them to represent any particular species of bird. The long necks, beaks and legs may simply have been a stylistic fashion, a generalized way in which many makers of bronze figurines, like contemporary vase-painters, looked at birds. But there are exceptions to this common shape; and I have therefore accepted the idea that a large number of figurines dedicated in the Geometric period were intended to represent water-fowl, and as far as possible have arranged my categories accordingly. In later periods, species of birds are more clearly distinguishable. Less difficult to interpret, even in the earlier period, are figurines representing hawks or eagles, and cocks and hens. But insufficient description in the publication of finds has in many cases made it necessary to list as indeterminate birds, images which might well belong to more specific categories[3]. At the same time, the fact that it has been argued that water-birds may have a religious significance[4] has persuaded me that this is a category worth discussing, and therefore worth isolating, even when (as in the Geometric period) it is not definable with absolute certainty. Literature, which refers to birds by their different names (as swan, hawk or crow) is naturally clearer in its definition of species -

even if the names have not all been conclusively interpreted in modern ornithological terms.

B. Literary evidence: birds and the gods

(i) Apollo and Leto

In Aristophanes' *Birds*, Apollo is described as the Pythian and Delian swan[5], and it was evidently as Apollo's servants that swans were famed (without any real justification) for their melodious song and their gift of prophecy[6]. Their association with Apollo may have been due to the fact that they were known in his birth-place on Delos. According to Callimachus, the swans sang seven times during the birth of the god, and then flew seven times round the island. Aelian later pictured them as inhabitants of the Hyperborean regions; and fancifully described how during Apollo's rites there, innumerable swans flew down from the mountains, circled his temple, and joined in the hymns sung to him, before finally departing when night fell[7]. But in reality, swans would have found a suitable home on the sacred lake of Delos beside which Leto gave birth to the god[8]; and where they were regarded as his property in historic times. Yet it is more than possible that they had been associated with a female deity who was worshipped in his birthplace before he appeared there himself (when Theseus came from Crete to Delos, it was a goddess, referred to as "Aphrodite", whose statue he brought with him[9]). The keeping of swans and geese on the lake[10], and the probability that Leto's throne in her own sanctuary near the lake was supported by two geese[11], may derive from an earlier tradition of worship on the island. Gallet de Santerre believed that the deity originally worshipped there was Artemis (or the Bronze Age goddess who had her cult on the site which later became the Artemision);

and he considered that Leto was really a doubling of the earlier Delian (or Cretan) goddess, making her appearance from the East at the same time as Apollo[12]. Swans had been companions of Bronze Age *potniai theron*: on one engraved jasper, a goddess is depicted above water, with a flying swan on either side of her; and on two other gems she holds a pair of swans by their necks[13]. The throne of a goddess, flanked by water-birds like Leto's, is surely related to such a *motif*. It seems to me probable, then, that Apollo inherited his swans from the lakeside female deity of whose island he became the principal god.

One of the rituals which took place in the Delian cult was the *geranos*, the crane-dance which according to legend was also brought there first by Theseus from Crete. In Plutarch's account, the Delians still danced round the altar of horns in such a way as to imitate the twists of the Cretan labyrinth. The legend may well reflect the great age of the ritual, and perhaps its Cretan origin; but the name of the dance suggests that it was an imitation of the water-birds which might be seen beside the lake, or flying in formation across the sky. Their encircling of the altar, the centre of the cult, is like the imagined circling of Apollo's Hyperborean sanctuary by swans. The meaning of the ritual (to protect, perhaps to renew the sanctity of the place, or even to invoke fertility[14]) can only be guessed at; but ritual dances in which animals were imitated are known to have taken place in other cults[15]. I believe that the crane-dance is another indication of the importance of water-birds in the Delian cult, which may have been older than Apollo.

Apollo was also associated with the predatory hawk, and the eagle. Two gold eagles stood on the *omphalos* at Delphi[16], and the association may have come about because (as with the swans of Delos)

the living birds haunted this sanctuary. But symbolism also played its part, the height and power of the eagle's flight inviting obvious comparison with the sun. In his description of Apollo's statue at Hieropolis, Macrobius interprets the companion - eagles as attributes of the sun[17]. Yet the eagle is more often regarded as the bird of Zeus (who was supposed to have sent the pair to Delphi)[18], while Apollo was accorded the possession of a similar but lesser bird, the hawk. Aristophanes refers rather jokingly to this division of attributes[19]; but even in the *Odyssey*, the hawk is described as Apollo's swift messenger[20], and in one of the tales of metamorphosis told by Antoninus Liberalis, Apollo took the form of this bird in the fight against Typhon[21]. Sun-symbolism,too, brought the cock into association with Apollo, since as Pausanias comments, "the cock is the sacred bird of the sun, and cries out just before sunrise"[22]. This explained why a statue of the god, described by Plutarch, held a cock: it was to show by suggestion, the writer says, the hour of sunrise[23].

(ii) *Artemis*

Artemis is not generally linked with any distinct species of bird; although as wild creatures most birds must have been considered subject to her power. For this reason, game-birds, like bears, were part of the tribute burned on the Laphrian fire[24]. In literature it is with reference to her cults that Artemis emerges as a *potnia theron* who, like the deity of Delos, was associated with birds. There is no literary evidence that the Stymphalian birds were sent to plague humanity by Artemis or by any other deity[25]; but Pausanias' description of her sanctuary near the lake of Stymphalos itself, shows that their images were felt to be appropriate decorations for the temple of Artemis Stymphalia.

Here they were carved in wood or plaster round the roof, presumably either as antefixes or *akroteria*[26]. Pausanias adds that the Stymphalian bird was like the ibis in appearance[27]; that is, they were long-necked water-birds whose habitat was lakes and swamps, like the birds which frequented and still do frequent the lake of Stymphalos. (Apollonius observed that Herakles was unable to chase away all the birds swimming on the Stymphalian lake, thus equating them with the water-birds which still inhabited it[28].) There is surely a parallel between the water-birds of Stymphalos and Artemis' temple-decorations, and the swans or geese of the Delian lake, and Leto's throne. In each case the goddess of a lakeside sanctuary adopts as her attributes the winged inhabitants of the lake. On Delos, the goddess of historic times had been preceded by a Bronze Age *potnia theron*, a type among whose attributes were water-birds; but at Stymphalos the traces of any prehistoric cult have so far remained hidden. That Artemis, the Olympian goddess, could be regarded as a protectress of water-birds in a less specific context than Stymphalos, is demonstrated in an Archaic *lekythos*, on which
6 the goddess, wearing a quiver and bow, feeds a swan[29]; and her association with this same bird is shown in a fifth century marble relief of unknown provenance, on which Artemis (identified by her bow and arrows) rides on a swan's back[30].

Behind the Stymphalian temple, Pausanias also noted the presence of white marble maidens with birds' legs; and this hybrid suggests an even closer identification of bird with divinity - possibly even reflecting the memory of a female deity which was itself bird-shaped. Some support for the concept of Artemis as a bird is offered by the Scholiast's commentary on Astophanes' *Birds*. Here the writer, enlarging on her title of "Akalanthis" (an epithet which possibly means "gold-finch")

refers to the bird-like nature of Artemis Kolainis, who (he says) was worshipped at Amarynthos, Brauron, Myrrhinus and Mounychia[31].

(iii) *Athena*

The mythological associations of the goddess Athena with birds are more explicit and (in terms of transformation) closer; while the variety of species with which she had dealings is especially great. Athena is characterized as a goddess of birds in the earliest literature: in the *Iliad* she sends a heron to guide Odysseus and Diomedes by night[32]; and Homer not only compares her to a pigeon and a hawk[33], but also makes her assume the shape of a vulture, a sea-bird, and a swallow[34]. Much later, in Pausanias' time, it seems that she was worshipped at Megara as a kind of sea-bird, under the title of "Aithyia"[35]. The *aetion* for this cult is given in Hesychius' gloss on the epithet: Athena, having hidden the hero Kekrops under her sea-bird's wings, transported him safely to Megara in this way.

Even the Athenian owl, so often seen as her attribute in visual representations, may on occasion have been regarded as a manifestation of the goddess. The repulse of the Persians having been attributed to the flight of an owl over the ships[36], the scholastic commentary on Aristophanes suggests that the owl represented Athena's victorious aspect, or even Athena herself[37]. Homer does not include the owl among his transformations for Athena, although the epithet "glaukopis", which he applies to her so often[38], may be interpreted as "owl-eyed". Perhaps, like the Delian swan, the bird became an attribute of the deity because it haunted the sanctuary. Athenaeus, quoting the fourth century comic dramatist Antiphanes, noted that owls lived in Athens as peacocks did in Samos[39]. The Athenians, hearing the owl over the

Acropolis by night, may have felt it to be the goddess with the piercing eyes watching over her city. At some point between the writing down of Homer (where the owl is not regarded as Athena's bird[40]) and the *Birds* of Aristophanes, where it is said that Athena carries an owl as her emblem[41], the association was fixed. But the proximity of this goddess to birds in a more general sense was already expressed in Homer.

Cook believed that originally Athena was in fact conceived as a bird, then as a half-bird and half-woman, and finally as a goddess with a bird as attribute[42]. He cites in support of this view several artefacts in which a bird with a woman's head, wearing a helmet, is represented[43]. In Archaic times Athena was on occasion portrayed as both winged and armed[44], and Cook sees the winged *Nike*, who had a temple of her own on the Acropolis of Athens, as a last survival of the bird-goddess[45]. In his opinion, an Archaic vase-painting showing a bird with female head and arms perching on Athena's *aegis*, represents an earlier and more bird-like phase in the development of the *Nike*[46].

The crow, which Aesop mentions as a sacrifice to Athena[47], was also evidently regarded as her attribute, since according to Pausanias, her bronze statue on the Acropolis of Korone held this bird on its hand[48]. At Korone, this must have been a reference to a girl of the same name, transformed by Athena to a crow because she was the bearer of ill news. She had, as a human, enjoyed Athena's favour, and as a bird, continued to be her companion. The news told to Athena by Koronis was that Kekrops' daughters, against her command, had dared to look at the snake-child Erichthonius; and in another version of the story, it was actually a crow who informed the goddess. As a result, these birds were banished from the Acropolis of Athens[49].

Pausanias was unable to provide an *aetion* for the cock on the helmet of Athena's gold and ivory statue in her Acropolis sanctuary of Elis[50]. He guessed that it might have been put there for its bellicose nature (presumably to express the character of a war-goddess); or alternatively because (being an industrious early riser, often heard in towns) it might be considered sacred to Athena the worker. But in his discussion of Athena as bird-goddess, Cook notes that she was sometimes represented in the form of this bird, and cites in evidence the bronze figurine of a cock with a female face and helmet[51]. The figurine is late (perhaps Roman) but the general association dates at least from the late Archaic period, judging by the appearance towards the end of the sixth century of the two cocks on pillars flanking the goddess on Panathenaic *amphorae*[52].

(iv) Other deities

There is indeed scarcely a deity who was not in some way associated with birds of various kinds. Peter Levi notes that at some remote period of Greek religion most of the gods actually were birds[53]. Perhaps this bird-like nature has left its clearest traces in representations and myths of Athena; but the stories of Zeus, in which he assumes a bird's shape to make love, suggests that he may have had a similar history. The third century poet Alcaeus refers to Zeus' transformation into an eagle, when he snatched Ganymede, and took him to Olympus[54]. Polykleitus' chryselephantine cult-statue of Hera in her Argive sanctuary had a cuckoo perched on her sceptre, because Zeus had first enticed her in this form[55]. In the shape of a swan, he seduced Leda and became the father of her children, who were hatched from eggs[56]. In an alternative legend, while the swan Zeus was Helen's father, her mother was Nemesis, who had taken on the form of a goose[57].

But from the time of Homer, it was the eagle that was regarded as Zeus' sacred bird. More than once, as the bird dearest to his heart, he sent it to encourage human-beings[58]. The eagles which met at the *omphalos* of Delphi had been sent there by Zeus; afterwards, as Pindar records, their effigies were kept there in gold, and they were known as his birds[59]. At least from Pindar's time, too, Zeus' sceptre was crowned by an eagle[60], and we know from Pausanias' description that this is how Pheidias' cult-statue appeared at Olympia[61]. The altar at the start of the horse-races there was also appropriately surmounted by a bronze eagle, which rose up as the signal to start was given[62]. In fact Pausanias describes more than one sanctuary of Zeus where eagles were either prominent as dedications (often as at Delphi, in pairs), or featured as an attribute of the cult-statue[63]. The story that the infant Zeus was brought nectar by an eagle in Crete[64], however, sounds like a late invention to give colour for a long-established association, which arose from an obvious parallelism of character. What more appropriate messenger and emblem for the chief of the Olympian gods, than the strongest and most kingly of birds?

The swan's (or the goose's) association with Apollo's birth and with his mother Leto, and also with the procreation of Helen and her brothers, suggests that it may have symbolized an aspect of fertility and of birth[65]. (The swan on an early Archaic Melian stone, beside a naked woman and a man "in obscöner Gruppiering", may have carried this meaning[66].) So it is not surprising that Aphrodite, the goddess most often pictured with a small child, should have been seen by a writer as early as Sappho, as the driver of a swan-drawn chariot; even though no specific myth links her with this bird[67]. The swan-drawn chariot is a concept parallel to Leto's throne, and may be (as

I believe that is) the inheritance of a Bronze Age *potnia theron* and fertility-goddess, one of whose attributes was a pair of water-birds. The swallow was also held sacred to Aphrodite (as a household goddess)[68]; but the bird with which she is more commonly associated is the dove, or pigeon. On Mt. Eryx in Sicily, where Aphrodite had a sanctuary, the pigeons which haunted it vanished at the time when she was supposed to embark for Libya, and their reappearance was taken as a sign of her return[69]. The symbolism linking the amorous dove to the goddess of love is clear enough; and their widely accepted association led scholars like Waldstein to identify the terracotta figurines of females holding doves as "Aphrodites"[70]. But whatever the meaning of these figurines, Aphrodite did not enjoy a monopoly of the dove: it was sacred to Dione, who was worshipped with Zeus at Dodona[71]; and also to Demeter, whose horse-headed statue at Phigalia held a dove in its hand[72]. Demeter's association with the dove may derive from the belief that it was a bird not only of love, but of death[73].

During the fifth century, when Polykleitus made Hera's cult-statue for her Argive sanctuary, it seems that the cuckoo was considered to be the bird-attribute of this goddess. But six centuries later, Hadrian thought it appropriate to dedicate a gold peacock in the same shrine[74]; for by this time the peacock had become Hera's most prominent associate among the birds. Athenaeus records that peacocks were sacred to Hera, and that they were kept in her sanctuary of Samos; and although he was writing himself only in 200 AD, he was quoting Antiphanes and Menodotus who probably lived in the fourth and third centuries BC, respectively[75]. At all events, during the second century BC, Samian coins began to be minted on which both Hera and her peacock are represented[76]. Both Ovid and the commentator on Euripides explained the

appearance of the peacock's tail-feathers by relating the story that when Argus was killed, Hera removed his hundred eyes and placed them in the tail of her bird[77]. This legend shows how the Samian bird had been absorbed into the mythology of Argos, Hera's other principal domain; and explains why Hadrian dedicated his jewelled peacock; but it happened late in the history of the sanctuary. I believe that Hera may have possessed an attendant bird (like most goddesses who were heirs to the *potnia theron*) long before it was designated as a peacock; and that the peacock association was established simply because the species was bred in Samos and kept in the Heraion there. In fact, the peacock is rarely represented in Greek art, and the first certainly dated instances of Hera with this bird are Samian coins of the second century BC[78]. It may be argued, however, that the association was established much earlier, during the Archaic period; on the evidence of the scene portrayed on an ivory comb made in about 700 BC. This
7 object happens to have been dedicated to Artemis Orthia in Sparta[79]; however, I introduce it at this point not as a dedication, but as a piece of iconographical evidence which appears to lend support to the literary concept of Hera and the peacock. The scene is the Judgment of Paris, and shows the three rival goddesses each with a typical attribute. Aphrodite holds a dove, Athena wears a helmet, and the third goddess, Hera,is accompanied by a bird "which must be supposed to be the peacock"[80]. But there is in fact little reason, apart from its long neck, to identify this bird as a peacock. The supposition appears to be based on external evidence of a later date; and I believe it possible that the artist is simply depicting a water-bird, an appropriate enough attribute for Hera, as for many an unspecified Archaic *potnia theron*. The story that Hera transformed Gerana (or in one version Oenoe) into a crane

because she showed no respect for her or for Artemis, may be interpreted as the reflection of some kind of association between this goddess and at least one species of water-bird[81]. For the gods on several occasions changed their victims into the shapes of those animals with whom they were associated. Thus Kallisto and Actaeon, both objects of Artemis' anger, became respectively a bear, and a deer.

C. Birds, gods, and the *potnia theron*

Literature thus shows that most of the Olympian gods were associated with birds of one kind or another, and sometimes with more than one. Gods and birds shared a mastery of the skies not possessed by humans or by other animals; and it was not surprising that some birds, in their strength or beauty, should have been regarded as divine.
It seems that gods were once worshipped in the shape of birds; and this may lie behind some myths of transformation, and some representation of hybrid beings - part human and part bird. While the Bronze
8 Age goddesses of Crete and Greece, who were sometimes portrayed with birds as companions or attributes, were themselves unwinged, many Archaic deities of either sex, named and unnamed (and including *Nikai*) resembled some Eastern gods in that they had wings; and in this respect they shared in the nature of birds[82]. The Olympian deities were both identified with birds (as in the transformations of Athena and Zeus), and endowed with them as attributes or servants (like Athena
9 with her owl, or Zeus with his eagle). The engraving on a stone from the Lindian sanctuary, which represents a large bird facing a human figure who kneels on one knee, may depict a cult-scene, and seems to invest the creature (if only by its size) with divinity. Thus it lends some support to Cook's argument that Athena herself was once bird-shaped.

The Archaic *potnia theron* was not only often winged; but sometimes, like her Bronze Age predecessor, she had a pair of birds as attributes. These she might hold by the neck or otherwise support, or they might stand or hover on either side of her. On a seventh century painted coffer from Thebes, for example, the winged goddess holds two water-birds by the neck[83]; while on an *amphora*, also Boeotian, the birds hover above her wings[84]. On the handle of the late seventh century bronze Grächwil *hydria*, where the winged goddess is represented with several pairs of beasts, the bird element of her attributes is introduced rather differently: instead of a pair of water birds, she has a single hawk or eagle just above her head[85]. The birds of the Archaic *potnia* are not themselves gods, but they express an aspect of the deity. Christou sees the water-birds as a personification of moisture, and the fertility associated with it[86]. The birds of prey he interprets as a symbol (like her wings) of her power in the heavens, as distinct from the earth; and also as a sign of her dominion over wild nature, and her ability to protect helpless domestic animals from predators[87]. The *potnia theron* was also a goddess of hunting[88], and the observable hunting instincts of birds like the eagle and the hawk, and possibly the known use of hawks in hunting by men, might have been intended to express this aspect of her nature too[89].

Because of the Bronze Age ancestry of the Archaic *potnia* with birds, Blinkenberg believed that numerous bird-dedications in a sanctuary indicated that the deity was of Mycenean origin[90]. But birds (especially birds of prey) had also been represented as attributes of deities on eastern artefacts since the third millennium[91]. There is even a foreshadowing of Olympian Athena and her owl, in a Sumerian clay relief of this early period, which shows a naked goddess flanked by two owls[92].

The goddess is winged, but her bird-like nature is also indicated by her bird's feet, a feature in which she resembles the marble girls seen by Pausanias in the sanctuary of Stymphalian Artemis. Religious concepts of the East, too, had their effect on the character of the Olympian gods; and perhaps on the votive offerings which were made to them.

D. Archaeological evidence

(i) Sacrifice of birds

Literary comment on the sacrifice of birds is not plentiful, perhaps because of the modesty of such burnt offerings in comparison with larger animals. But the presence of their bones in sanctuaries like those of Ephesos, Isthmia and the sanctuaries of Demeter at Cnidus and Cyrene is clear evidence of sacrificial practice. At Ephesos, the bones of birds were found inside the Archaic *basis* itself, where many figurines of precious metal representing birds were also deposited. Beneath the Archaic Artemision of Delos, too, where it has been suggested that water-birds were of some importance in the cult, the bones of sacrificed birds were found in the same deposit that produced Mycenean images of water-birds in bronze and gold. It is of particular interest that among these bird-bones was one large enough to be identified by M.J. Chaine as a crane[93]; an indication, perhaps, that the legendary crane-dance was in some way linked with the sacrifice of the birds themselves. A fifth century marble relief, not from any sanctuary considered here, but discovered in Aegina, affords further evidence not merely of bird-sacrifice, but of the sacrifice of a water-bird to Artemis. Here, a procession of worshippers bring a deer and a goose towards the altar of a goddess with two large torches[94].

The terracotta figurines of females holding pigeons or sometimes domestic fowl are a further indication of sacrificial custom; since although their meaning cannot be established with certainty, the suggestion that these figurines (or at least some of them) are worshippers holding an offering is the most convincing explanation for them[95]. Bird-carrying females of this type were found at several sanctuaries of every female deity whose dedications have been considered here. Their presence in the sanctuaries of male deities, though not unheard of, is rare[96]. The bones of poultry at the Isthmian sanctuary indicate that Poseidon, no doubt like other male deities[97], was the recipient of bird-sacrifice. But perhaps the female statuettes (even if they did commemorate sacrifice) were in themselves regarded as more appropriate offerings for deities of their own sex.

(ii) Representations of birds in sanctuaries

(a) Birds as a general class of dedication:

Over 1000 representations of birds came to light in the sanctuaries considered in this study, including approximately 300 water-birds and 350 birds of prey. According to the evidence available, it appears that they were found in far greater numbers in the sanctuaries of female, than of male deities. Olympia has yielded about twenty Geometric or early Archaic bronze figurines of birds (of the type described by early writers as "primitive"); and in all there are from this sanctuary approximately fifty bird-representations of various periods, including the decorations on other objects. In comparison, 1600 or so Geometric bronze figurines of horses were discovered at Olympia[98]. In Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi, out of 200 bronze figurines described, twenty-one were birds of the Geometric period; while over fifty (including

fragmentary dedications) were horses of the same period[99]. At Dodona, where according to the accounts published, about sixty bronze figurines of all periods were found, only one "primitive" water-bird, compared to four Geometric horses[100], apparently came to light, and birds of later periods seen equally scarce[101].

On the other hand, the sanctuaries where over fifty bird-representations, irrespective of period, have been reported are (in order of frequency): Lindos, Pherai, Sparta (Artemis Orthia)[102], Perachora and Ephesos. At Artemis Orthia, the representations do not generally take the form of bronze or terracotta figurines, but of Archaic ivories, and the decorative *motifs* on seals and other objects; and at Lindos (where according to Blinkenberg's dating very few, if any artefacts of the Geometric period, and few bronzes of any period, were found), and Ephesos (where the material is almost entirely gold, silver and ivory), most of the bird-representations date from the Archaic period. A considerable number of the birds from Artemis Orthia may be interpreted as birds of prey (although it is not always easy to categorize the "displayed" birds on small objects like seals); and although water-birds and other species are not entirely lacking at Lindos and Ephesos, the great majority of birds from these sanctuaries are hawks. At Perachora, too, where the birds generally take the form of decorative *motifs* on Archaic seals and scarabs, rather than figurines, there are at least as many birds of prey as water-birds. At Pherai, however, all the birds reported are bronze figurines of the Geometric and early Archaic periods, and most of them are of the long-necked, long-billed or long-legged variety generally accepted as water-birds. No birds of prey, in fact, were reported from this sanctuary.

If we accept the attribution of the Pherai sanctuary to Artemis (or to a closely related Thessalian goddess), all these five sanctuaries where bird-representations were discovered in quantity, belonged to female deities. At all of them, in contrast to Olympia, Delphi and Penteskouphia,birds outnumber horses[103]. Lindos, where over 200 representations of birds were found, produced fewer than thirty horses of all periods. At Pherai, where about 150 birds of the late Geometric and early Archaic periods were recovered, only nineteen horses of the same period came to light; and at Ephesos, which yielded over sixty birds, there were almost no horses. In Tegea, Kalapodi, the Argive Heraion, Samos and the sanctuary of Aphaia , where the numbers are smaller, the same preponderance of birds to horses is to be observed; and the brief excavation reports on Athena's sanctuary at Philia, which refer to an unspecified number of Geometric bronze birds, comment on the fact that almost no horses were found there[104]. At Kalapodi, where more than twenty Geometric bronze birds have been reported, there was only a single Geometric horse[105], a proportion which may well lend weight to the supposition that this sanctuary belonged to a goddess (that is, to Artemis) rather than a male deity.

(b) Water-birds

Archaeological evidence thus seems to suggest that birds were generally regarded as more appropriate subjects for dedication to female than to male deities. How far, if at all, it must then be asked, does the literary evidence discussed above help to explain this bias? Apollo's association with the swan apparently did not result in an especially large number of dedicated representations in his sanctuaries (although a few water-birds, including swans, came to light at Delphi and the

Ptoion). But I have suggested that the swan came to be linked with Apollo in literature because water-birds played some part in the earlier cult on Delos of a female deity of childbirth - Leto, Artemis, Eileithyia or the Hyperborean maidens who assisted at the birth of the god[106]; and that the crane-dance, instituted in the sanctuary in what was felt to be a remote age of legend, may have been a fertility ritual. The presence of several Mycenean figurines of water-birds in the Artemision (where a Geometric bronze bird with a long neck was also found) is at least not inconsistent with this possibility; while the crane-bone also discovered there suggests that the sacrifice of this species of water-bird might have been part of the cult. It is also of some interest that one of the more valuable possessions of Delian Artemis listed on a *stele* of 279 BC is a crane made of gold[107]. The appearance of the swan (or the goose) in the Delian myth, and in the legend of Zeus and his egg-hatched children, and also its early (though in mythical terms unexplained) association with Aphrodite, suggest that it is a bird not of music or prophecy, but of divine procreation. But this was a connotation which it shared with water-birds of other or indeterminate species. Christou has argued that water-birds were symbols of moisture and fertility, and thus proper attributes of a female deity. From Pausanias we know that they decorated Artemis' Stymphalian temple; but at the Thasos Artemision the remains of Archaic terracotta antefixes in the form of ducks have actually been recovered; while the late classical limestone reliefs of swans found in the Ephesian Artemision probably decorated the altar there. The use of water-birds as decorations for the sacred buildings of a goddess often invoked for fertility and in childbirth, is consistent with the fact that according to the reports (and even discounting the numerous early bronzes of Pherai) she received

in dedication more images of this type than did other deities: that is about sixty, in comparison with forty-three or more offered to Athena, and thirty-four to Hera. Thus although Apollo's literary association with swans may be irrelevant in the context of dedications in his sanctuaries, the Delian traditions which lay behind it, and which referred to the cult of an earlier goddess, did exert an influence on the dedications made to female deities, and especially to Artemis, whose cult on Delos evidently predated that of her brother.

(c) Birds of prey:

The water-birds so often dedicated in the Geometric and early Archaic periods did not disappear as the Archaic period progressed. They continued to be dedicated, and greater realism in the portrayal of all natural objects meant that they are now unmistakable as water-birds. The cut-out bone birds with long necks and bills from Artemis Orthia belong to the sixth century and later; and at Lindos about twenty Archaic representations of water-birds, including swans, were discovered. But during the Archaic period, with the spread of Eastern *motifs*, the hawk and eagle became increasingly popular subjects for representation; and at Ephesos and at Lindos hawks far outnumbered water-birds. Birds of prey were also quite prominent at the Heraion of Samos and (especially as *motifs* on small objects like seals and scarabs) at Artemis Orthia and Perachora. There is no literary evidence to suggest that these birds were ever associated with fertility; and it is possible to explain their images at four sanctuaries of Apollo (including Delphi) and at all three of Zeus' sanctuaries examined here, in terms of their sacredness to these gods of the sky. Yet like other birds, the predatory kind are found in larger numbers in the sanctuaries of of female deities. Out of about 360 birds of prey, 158 (nearly all lime-

stone and paste figurines from Lindos) belonged to Athena; and at least 110 to Artemis, both from the Spartan sanctuary and from Ephesos, where more than sixty Archaic hawk-figurines of gold, silver, ivory, bronze and terracotta were recovered. Ephesian Artemis was a goddess of hunting (Xenophon of Ephesos relates that dogs and hunting weapons were taken in her procession[108]); and hawks as hunting birds may have been regarded as appropriate attributes and dedications for her. No doubt Athena Lindia was a goddess of similar character. Yet from the time of Homer, it was acknowledged in literature that the eagle belonged to Zeus, and the hawk to Apollo; and it is also evident that important and striking representations of eagles (too valuable ... to have survived) were dedicated in Zeus' sanctuaries at least from the fifth century[109]. In fact it has been suggested that the fragments of a bronze statue with a bird, discovered at Nemea, may have represented the god with his eagle. It is in the dedication of smaller objects, during the Archaic period, that the cult of the *potnia* as mistress of birds, evidently of greater influence in religious practices than the concepts of the Olympians as expressed in literature, exerted its influence on the worshipper's choice of dedication.

(d) Owls:

The presence in sanctuaries of identifiable species of birds other than hawks, eagles or water-birds reflects only to a limited degree the stories about gods and birds which are known from literature. Representations of Athena with her owl cannot be explained in mythological terms; but the association itself is attested by Aristophanes and his commentators; and the fact that out of fifteen representations of owls noted here, twelve were found in her sanctuaries, demonstrates that

they were felt to be suitable as dedications for this goddess, and as ornaments for her sanctuaries. Seven (mostly Archaic) came from the Acropolis; where in addition, a large number of fragmentary Archaic terracotta plaques represented Athena in her chariot, accompanied by an owl; and a fourth century marble relief showed the goddess with an owl on her hand. But their lesser presence in her sanctuaries at Delphi, Sparta and Gortyn shows that the association was acknowledged in cities other than Athens. Gortyn and Sparta were Acropolis sanctuaries; and it is possible that the owl, having aided the Athenians in the Persian war, may have been regarded like its patroness as a defender of cities. Owls are birds of prey of a particular kind, and as we have seen, were represented (at least once) with a goddess of the East. The golden owl of Samos was probably dedicated to Hera, the Samian *potnia theron*, as an alternative to the more common hawks of limestone, bronze and paste also found there; and in much the same way, an owl decorated one of the seals at Perachora. But the association of the owl almost exclusively with Athena which came about during the course of the Archaic period (no doubt because of the living birds which haunted Athens) apparently did influence some of her worshippers in their choice of dedication.

(e) Cocks and hens; crows:

Cocks and hens must have been a common and not too expensive form of sacrifice to many gods, and their images have been found, though not generally in great numbers, at the sanctuaries of most; at Lindos, and Artemis' sanctuary at Kanoni, too, figurines of women carrying cocks were dedicated. The largest number of cock-representations (at least thirty-two), was found at Pherai, where (however) they are far outnumbered by water-birds. According to archaeological evidence,

the sun-symbolism mentioned by Pausanias and Plutarch had no effect whatsoever on dedications made to Apollo; since scarcely one representation of the bird has been found in his sanctuaries. The idea, it is to be supposed, came into existence only at a later period. In contrast, representation of cocks were discovered at eight of Athena's sanctuaries, from the Geometric period onwards; and if the examples from Pherai are set aside, she received more of their images than any other deity. It is probable that Athena's association with this bird, implicit in the paintings on Panathenaic *amphorae*, and noted and speculated on in Roman times by Pausanias, was established at an early period, and may well have dictated the choice of some dedications made to her. It is possible too, that the three bronze Archaic crows found on the Acropolis might have been offered with reference to the myth of Kekrops' daughters; but even allowing for the chances of survival and discovery, this type of bird can scarcely have been a popular *motif* for dedication; since as far as I know, it has been found at no other sanctuary.

(f) Peacocks:

According to the literary evidence cited above, the peacock cannot certainly be associated with Hera any earlier than the fourth century, and then only in Samos. I believe it possible that the Samians may have regarded the peacocks of the Heraion simply as material property of the sanctuary, and not at first, as sacred birds in a religious sense. The *aetion* for Hera's patronage of the peacock was probably (as the literary evidence suggests) of late invention. The only peacock-representations to be identified with certainty at any of the sanctuaries examined here are the terracotta and marble fragments from the Argive Heraion, which have not been dated, but may well have belonged (like Hadrian's jewelled

bird) to the Roman period. In this period, the painted terracotta peacock's tail may have been part of an *akroterion* or antefix decorating the temple. Waldstein rejected his own original definition of the Geometric bronze bird from this sanctuary as a peacock[110], and although the bird on an Archaic engraved stone from Perachora could be a peacock (with crest and fan-shaped tail), it is rather small to identify with certainty. I have suggested that Hera, as one of the Olympian successors to an older *potnia theron*, may originally have had the attribute of an unspecified water-bird; and that this bird (as I believe it appears on the comb from Artemis Orthia) became a peacock only after the Samian peacocks acquired their reputation. In view of the fact that while peacocks are known to have been dedicated at the Argive Heraion, no remains of their images have come to light at the Samian sanctuary; and since it is King Argus who figures in the *aetion* for the peacock's tail, it is even possible that Hera's special association with the peacock, though inspired by the Samian birds, was an Argive invention. The scarcity of peacock-representations in her sanctuaries is therefore not really inconsistent with literary evidence as it has survived. On the other hand, nearly 200 representations of birds of various other kinds (including water-birds) have been reported in the *Heraia* considered in this study.

(g) Doves, or pigeons:

The number of dove-representations in the sanctuaries under examination have not always been specified: at Kalydon, and at Demeter's sanctuary at Acrocorinth, for example, their presence but not their number, is noted in the reports; moreover, what one excavator sees as a dove or pigeon, may appear to another only as a bird of indeterminate species. In fact many of the terracotta "birds" described in the

excavation reports may have been intended to represent doves. But at least forty have been positively identified in various sanctuaries; while the number of female figurines (and sometimes statues) of the Archaic period and later holding doves, or small dove-like birds, is more than sixty. None of the sanctuaries considered here belonged to Aphrodite alone; so that it is not possible to ascertain how far the association of this goddess with the dove, as it is expressed in literature, may be reflected in patterns of dedication. But the presence both of females with doves, and doves in isolation, in the sanctuaries of all the other Olympian goddesses, shows at least that in terms of cult-practice, the association was far from exclusive. The female figurines almost certainly represented not Aphrodite, but a worshipper; and the practice of sacrificing a dove to the deity was probably common to most sanctuaries; although not all representations, either of the bird-carriers, or the birds in isolation, necessarily commemorate such a sacrifice. What the distribution of these images does show, is that nearly all of them were dedicated in the sanctuaries of female deities. The only exceptions are Olympia, where the bronze "Aphrodite" could have been dedicated to any deity who had an altar there[111]; Apollo Maleatas, where it is possible that Artemis was also worshipped, and may have been the recipient of the marble dove[112]; and Dodona, where not only Zeus was patron, but also Dione, sometimes (as it has been observed - in note 71) regarded as a version of Aphrodite. At Dodona three doves in bronze (one perched on a female hand) were reported.

The Judgment of Paris scene on the comb from Artemis Orthia, which represents Aphrodite with a dove, seems to indicate that their association was not a late invention. But we have seen that it was not regarded as exclusive, even in early times: the Phigalian cult-statue of

Demeter holding a dove was supposed to be the classical reproduction of a much older image. So the doves (and dove-like birds) dedicated at the Acrocorinth, Knossos and Eleusis may have been felt to be appropriate for Demeter and Persephone; and the large marble hand holding a dove found at their Cyrene sanctuary, could be part of a statue representing one of these goddesses. But doves or pigeons were also an essential feature of everyday domestic life, kept for food but also as pets, and having a relationship with human beings (especially women and children) more intimate perhaps than any creature, apart from the dog. A fourth century figurine from Lindos represents a woman kissing a dove; the little girl from Brauron holds hers with loving care; and the terracotta birds now in the museum there, some of them unusually large, may represent the pet doves of the children who lived at the sanctuary. All animal figurines may be regarded in the light of human concerns as well as religious significance; but the dove-figurines, more than most, may reflect an aspect of the lives of women and children, which resulted in their dedication to all female deities. The assiduously breeding pigeon, too, may on occasion have been regarded as an emblem not only of love but of maternity, which is a concern outside the scope of no goddess. Most animal types are sometimes represented with their offspring, and the Argive Heraion, where human *kourotrophoi* were also found[113]; has produced a small terracotta dove sheltering its young under its wings[114]. It is even possible that Hera's Archaic cult-statue at Perachora may have held a dove; since a bronze life-sized one found in the sacred pool had pierced feet as though it had been fastened to a statue[115]. This wide diffusion of dove-representations in female sanctuaries, in conjunction not only with images of worshippers but also with those of the various deities, seems to express the role of the bird in human lives, rather than its acknowledged position as Aphrodite's sacred bird.

(iii) Representations of the potnia theron with birds in sanctuaries

It has been observed that the *potnia theron*, the goddess embodying the powers of nature, was sometimes represented with two birds, both during the Bronze Age, and in the Archaic period. The birds have been interpreted as symbols of certain divine characteristics (varying according to whether they are water-birds, or birds of prey). But whatever their exact meaning may be, they were evidently seen as attributes of the deity; and the association, so clearly expressed in iconographical terms, offers a reasonable explanation for their preponderance (in contrast, for example, to horses) in the sanctuaries of female rather than male deities: that is, simply, they were dedicated to a female deity because they were seen as her attributes. The mere existence of these *potnia* images, whatever their provenance, would make the supposition feasible. But it happens that a number of them were found as offerings or decorations in the sanctuaries of the gods; and like birds in isolation, nearly all in those of female deities.

Out of twenty-two representations of the typical heraldic group of a female with two birds[115], the greatest number (ten) came from Artemis Orthia where (apart from Lindos and Pherai) the greatest number of single birds are also reported, and they take the form of reliefs in ivory, bone, silver and lead. At Artemis Orthia, where both hawks and water-birds are represented in isolation, there are roughly equal numbers of these two species as attributes of the goddess; and on two seventh century ivory plaques she is accompanied by a pair of
12 hawks, and at the same time holds two water-birds by their necks. In these two reliefs she is (unusually for Artemis Orthia) without wings, and the fact that the hawks replace her wings provides some support for Christou's opinion that these birds are symbols of divine control

of the air. At Ephesos, however, where more than sixty hawks were found, in comparison to four representations of water-birds, one small ivory seal depicts a winged goddess flanked by a snake and a water-bird (a *motif* found also at Artemis Orthia); but in the other two certain examples of heraldic groups (an ivory, and the fragment of a silver figurine) the birds are hawks and the goddess is unwinged. According to Hogarth, "all or some" of twenty gold hawks may also have been held by female statuettes; a possibility which would make Ephesos as rich as Artemis Orthia in dedications of *potniai* with birds. But at Ephesos the *potniá theron* also appears in another (and unheraldic) style, which is peculiar to this sanctuary: she bears on her head a tall pole surmounted by a single hawk[117]. One ivory figurine of this type, and fragments belonging probably to four more, were recovered from the Archaic Artemision. Thus at Sparta and at Ephesos alike, the link between goddess and bird is directly expressed in iconographical terms. At both sanctuaries there is a correspondence between the presence in the sanctuary of isolated birds, and of the *potnia theron* with birds; and in each case the species of attribute roughly correspond to the species of birds dedicated on their own.

At Lindos, the sanctuary where the greatest number of bird-representations have been found (above all in the form of Archaic Cypriot limestone hawks) only one *potnia* of the type with two creatures of any kind, has come to light; but in this single example (stamped on a very small bronze plaque) the creatures held are birds, and moreover
13 they are birds of prey. Yet water-birds, though less numerous, are not absent from the sanctuary at Lindos, and the Archaic terracotta female with a water-bird painted on her trunk, may also be regarded as a kind of *potnia theron*. The later terracotta female

holding a single swan may not, of course, be intended as a goddess; but at Kanoni in Corcyra there is certainly a precedent for the divinity in such a guise, since two figurines show Artemis, identifiable by her bow, holding one goose-like bird. So it is possible that in this type of figurine we have an early fifth century development of the Archaic *potnia* with her two water-birds. At another of Athena's sanctuaries at Elateia, which yielded several early bronze water-birds, five undated terracotta females with a single swan or water-bird were also reported; and these may indicate that Athena Craneia, too, belonged to the older tradition of a water-bird goddess. At Tegea, where nearly thirty bird-representations were found (mostly bronze, including seven water-birds) a round bronze fibula-plaque was decorated with a naked goddess, standing on a bull, and flanked by two water-birds; and finally, at Gortyn (where several owls were dedicated to Athena) there are two heraldic representations of the *potnia* with birds (in one of them, a pair of water-birds is simply painted on the skirt of a large terracotta female figurine[118]). The association of Athena with water-birds is not entirely without an echo in literature; for it was a heron, and not an owl which she sent as a guide to Odysseus (Aelian, commenting on this, observed that the land round Troy was moist and well-watered, and the goddess used what was available).

At Perachora, which after Lindos, Pherai and Artemis Orthia has produced the greatest number of bird-representations, including water-birds and birds of prey, three examples of the Archaic *potnia* with heraldic birds have also been found, in reliefs on bronze, lead and ivory[119]. At Kalapodi, where Geometric bronze birds outnumber horses by twenty to one, no *potnia theron* has definitely been found; although the excavation report suggests that an early Archaic bronze

protome surmounted by a ram's head may have been part of such a group[120]. In short, nearly all the sanctuaries richest in bird-dedications (Lindos, Artemis Orthia, Ephesos and Perachora) have also provided *potnia*-images with birds. The notable exception is Pherai, with its hundred early bronze water-birds, where no image of the *potnia theron* has apparently been found. But in any case this type of representation has never appeared in great numbers on any one site. A lack of constant correlation hardly invalidates the general proposition that birds were dedicated chiefly to female deities, because they were regarded as attributes of a *potnia theron* who had power over the natural world, and its skies and waters, and was concerned with fertility. The presence in a single sanctuary both of the *potnia* with the birds, and of birds alone, bears witness to the association of goddess and bird in the mind of those who worshipped there.

E. Conclusion

The many representations of birds which were dedicated to the gods, and which might adorn their temples and sanctuaries, seem to express the sense that these winged beings were in some way akin to deities; or at least that they embodied some aspect of the divine nature, and therefore properly belonged to them. It was no doubt this same sense which found expression in legends of gods who assumed the shape of a particular bird, or imposed it on a human; or used a bird as messenger or portent. Thus Bronze Age goddesses were represented with birds as victims, companions or attributes; and the Archaic *potnia theron* followed suit, except that birds of prey, perhaps as imports from the East, now served her as alternative or sometimes additional

attributes. Both kinds of bird have been interpreted as symbols of the goddess' power. Thus the water-birds embodied moisture and fertility; and the birds of prey embodied the sky and the fierceness of wild nature - interpretations which while they cannot be proved conclusively, are feasible.

In time, nearly every Olympian deity came to be associated with a special bird, like the eagle, owl or peacock: emblematic pairings which while in a general sense the legacy of an older deity's attributes, came about either through obvious symbolism, or through such natural chances as that which led to the breeding of peacocks in Samos, or allowed owls to flourish in Athens. But these specific associations were perhaps too theoretical, too literary to find a very extensive echo in the dedication of birds in isolation from the deity. The owl, for example, was dedicated to Athena in preference to other deities; but not nearly so often as the more general types of water-birds, and birds of prey. Artemis, who according to literary evidence is not paired with any specific kind of bird, according to archaeological evidence received more water-birds than any other deity, and more birds of prey than any except Athena in her Lindian sanctuary. I have suggested that Apollo's association with the swan, which is expressed by Callimachus and other writers, but which has not been matched by the discovery of many swan-representations in his sanctuaries, came about because the female deity (or deities) previously worshipped on Delos beside the lake, was a *potnia theron*, a mother-goddess who was mistress of water-birds. As Leto's throne in Delos was supported by geese, the chariot of Aphrodite was in the poet's imagination drawn by swans; and more than one legend about these birds is concerned with procreation and birth. Thus the swan was the sacred bird of the god of music and

prophecy only in a literary context. According to an older religious tradition, it belonged like other water-birds to goddesses of fertility.

In view of these symbolic and mythological connotations, the preponderance of water-birds in female sanctuaries (especially those belonging to Artemis) is not surprising. But it has been seen that representations of all kinds of birds have been discovered more frequently in the sanctuaries of female than in those of male deities. I have tried to show that this may have been because as important attributes of the *potnia theron* (and notwithstanding literary tradition such as that linking Zeus with the eagle), birds of any kind were generally associated in the minds of worshippers with goddesses who reigned over the natural world. Among these goddesses, Artemis, as Homer's *potnia theron* and as goddess of hunting, received a large share of bird-dedications; and at least three of her temples and altars (at Ephesos, Thasos and Stymphalos) are known to have been decorated by water-birds. She also received the largest number of representations in which the *potnia* is grouped heraldically with birds. But though the chief, Artemis was not the only *potnia theron* among the Olympians. The goddess of Lindos for example, like Orthia and the Ephesian deity, existed as a nature-goddess before the Olympians increased their sway over existing sanctuaries and cults[121]. And at Athena Lindia's sanctuary more bird-representations have been discovered than at any other. Although the artefacts dedicated to her are of a different type, she seems to have been in part a hawk-goddess like Artemis Ephesia. Lindia did not become Artemis; but, no doubt because of the position of her sanctuary on what was eventually a fortified height, she was identified with Athena in preference to other Olympian deities. The nature of the site determined the Olympian name of the goddess: but the goddess herself was

in all likelihood a *potnia theron* and a mistress of birds before this development came about. The goddess of the Samian Heraion, who also received a number of birds in dedication, probably had a similar history; her identification with Hera seems to have been due to the coming of Argive colonists who brought with them the cult of their own principal deity[122].

Footnotes

1. Apart from the enormous number of bronze horses and cattle from Olympia (which far outweigh the birds dedicated there), they are the most frequently dedicated creatures during this period.

2. For example, by P. Perdrizet (*FdD* V (1908) p. 46); and W.D. Heilmeyer (*OlForsch* XII 931-7).

3. For example, the report on the excavations at Kalapodi mentions over twenty Geometric bronze birds, but illustrates only three, which I have classified as water-birds because of their appearance. Many, if not all, of the others might have been so designated. But to do so would be unjustifiable without further evidence (*AA* 95 (1980) p. 57).

4. For example, by Christou (*Potnia Theron* pp. 61-69; p. 188).

5. Aristophanes. *Birds*. 870.

6. Callimachus. *Hymn to Delos*. 249-255; Plato. *Phaedo*. 84E; Aelian . *De Natura Animalium*. II.32, XIV.13; Eustathius. *Iliad*. I.206.

7. Aelian. *Op. cit.* XI.1.

8. Theognis. *Elegies*. 5-10.

9. Plutarch. *Theseus*. 21.
Several goddesses are associated with Delos, including not only Leto, Apollo's mother, but also Eileithyia, the goddess of child-birth. Eileithyia's presence at Apollo's birth on Delos is mentioned as early as the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* (115). She was known to be a Cretan deity, worshipped in a cave at Amnissos (*Odyssey* XIX.188), hence perhaps the story of a goddess' statue brought from Crete by Theseus. But after the Hyperborean legend developed, she was believed to have come from those northern regions to help Leto (Herodotus IV.35; Pausanias I.18.5). She was associated with the Hyperborean maidens themselves, who were also concerned with Apollo's birth. Both Eileithyia, and the Hyperboreans were

worshipped on the island (Herodotus IV.34-35; W.A. Laidlaw *A History of Delos*. Oxford 1933 pp. 36-37; F. Dürrbach *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris 1929. no. 440, line 69).

10. R. Vallois. "Topographie Délienne". *BCH* 53 (1929) p. 222, note 1; Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. 1103-5; *Ion* 160-170.

11. Vallois. *Op. cit.* pp. 221-223. Two fragmentary marble geese were found beside the Letoon (Fig. 25). Another similar fragment found on Mykonos apparently formed part of a throne, and this suggests that the Delian fragments may have belonged to a similar goose-throne.

12. *DPA* pp. 131, 145-6.

13. A. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Leipzig 1900. pl. 2.28 and 29; *JHS* 45 (1925) p. 23. Fig. 26.

14. The dancing round the altar in modern Greek marriage-ceremonies may be performed for this purpose. But Callimachus mentions another ritual which took place at the Delian altar: the self-flagellation of the worshipper, performed as he circled round it (*Hymn to Delos*. 320-322). This is reminiscent of the flogging of Spartan youths at Artemis Orthia's altar - which has also been interpreted by some as a fertility ritual (M.P. Nilsson. *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*. Stuttgart. 1957. pp. 190-192).

15. For example, lion-dances in Sicilian cults of Artemis and of Dionysos (Athenaeus. *Deipnosophistae*. 629 f; Pollux. *Onomastikon*. 103-4).

16. Pindar. *Pythian Odes*. IV.4-6; Strabo. IX.20 (quoting Pindar).

17. Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. I.17.66-70.

18. *Scholia Pind. Pyth.* IV.6.

19. *Birds*. 516.

20. *Odyssey*. XV.525.

21. *Metamorphoses*. 28.

22. Pausanias. V.25.9.

23. Plutarch. *Moralia*. 400c.

24. Pausanias. VII.18.7.

25. Diodorus. IV.13; Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. II.92.3; Pausanias. VIII.22.4.

26. *Ibid*. VIII.22.7; *CQ* 67 (1973) p. 156.

27. Pausanias. VIII.22.5.

28. Apollonius. *Argonautica*. II.1052-4.

29. *ÖJh* 16 (1913) Pl. 2; K. Hoenn. *Artemis*. Zurich. 1946. p.96. Pl.4.

30. *LexIc* II. "Artemis" 689.

31. *Scholia in Aves*. 873.

32. *Iliad* X.274-6 (Aelian [X.37] was surprised that it was not an owl).

33. *Ibid*. V.778; XIX.350.

34. *Ibid*. VII.58; *Odyssey* III.371; XXIII.239.

35. Pausanias. I.5.3.

36. Aristophanes. *Wasps*. 1086; Plutarch. *Themistokles*. 12.

37. *Scholia in Vespas*. 1086.

38. For example, *Odyssey*. I.156.

39. Athenaeus. 655b.

40. Aelian is surprised that Athena, whose favourite was the owl, sent a heron to guide Odysseus and Diomedes through the dark (*De Natura Animalium*. X.37).

41. *Birds*. 516. cf. *Scholia in Equites*. 1093.

42. A.B. Cook. *Zeus*. Cambridge. 1940. Vol. III. pp 776-832.

43. *Ibid*. p. 801. Fig. 601; p. 804. Fig. 611.

44. *Ibid*. pp. 805-809. Figs 616-618.

45. *Ibid*. pp 811-812.

46. *Ibid*. Fig. 600.

47. Aesop. *Fabulae*. 171.

48. Pausanias. IV.34.6.

49. Antigonus. *Historia Mirabilia* 12. *cf* Aelian. V.8.

50. Pausanias. VI.26.3.

51. *Op. cit*. p. 804. Fig. 11.

52. M. Hirmer and P.E. Arias. *A History of Greek vase-painting* (translated B.B. Shefton. London. 1962) Pl. 28.

53. Penguin. Pausanias. Vol. I. p. 22. note 49.

54. *API* XII.64.

55. Pausanias. II.17.4; II.36.2; *Scholia in Theocritum*. XV.64.

56. Euripides, *Helen*. 16-21. In Homer, where Zeus' and Leda's parentage is mentioned more than once, the swan myth is not included.

57. Apollodorus. III.10.7.

58. *Iliad*. VIII.427; XXIV.292.3, 310-320. cf Euripides, *Ion* 158-160; Callimachus. *Hymn to Zeus*. 68; *Etymologicum Magnum* ("aetos").

59. Pindar. *Pythian Odes*. IV.4-6 (and *Scholia*); Strabo. IX.420.

60. "The eagle, king of birds, sleeps on the sceptre of Zeus." *Pythian Odes*. I.6. cf Aristophanes *Birds* 515.

61. Pausanias. V.11.1

62. *Ibid*. VI.20.12.

63. *Ibid*. III.17.4; VIII.30.2; VIII.38.7 (as dedications); VIII.31.4 (cult-statue).

64. Athenaeus 491b.

65. The swan's love for its children was proverbial (see for example, Athenaeus (quoting Aristotle) 393d).

66. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Pl. 5.39.

67. Sappho. I.1.10 (*Lyra Graeca*. Loeb (1922) Vol. I. p.182) cf. Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. X.708-9. For vase-paintings, figurines and medals depicting Aphrodite riding on a swan or goose, see *Lexlc* II. "Aphrodite". 905-947.

68. Aelian. X.34.

69. Athenaeus. 394F-395A. For doves as sacred to Aphrodite, see also Apollonius of Rhodes. *Argonautica*. III.541-552; Plutarch. *Moralia*. 379D; Athenaeus (quoting the fourth century Alexis) 395A-B; Aelian X.33; Eustathius. *Iliad*. II.308.

70. C. Waldstein. *The Argive Heraeum*. Boston and New York. 1905. Vol. II. p. 34. no. 166.

71. But Dione herself was closely associated with Aphrodite. In the *Iliad* (V.370) she is regarded as Aphrodite's mother (cf. Euripides. *Helen*. 1098; Theocritus XV.106; XVII.36). But Ovid later refers to her as the mother of Cupid, thus actually identifying her with Aphrodite [*Fasti* II.461-464].

72. Aelian. X.33; Pausanias VIII.42.4. The cult-statue of Phigalia was made by Onatas of Aegina during the fifth century. But it was reputedly copied from a much earlier statue [*Ibid*. VIII.42.7] (see also *RE* 4 A2 (1932) 2498-9).

73. *RE Loc. cit.* 2496.

74. Pausanias II.17.6.

75. Athenaeus 655A-B.

76. *RE* 19.2 (1938) 1416.

77. *Metamorphoses.* I.722-3; *Scholia in Phoenissas.* 1114.

78. *RE* 19.2 (1938) 1416, and 1419-20. A fragmentary relief, also from Samos, whose exact provenance is not recorded, depicts Hera standing beside a pillar surmounted by a peacock (and the missing section of the plaque probably showed a second pillar and bird, like the Panathenaic vase-paintings of Athena and the cock). It is possible that the relief is a fourth century work, a date which is consistent with the reference to Hera's sacred peacocks by Antiphanes (*AM* 25 (1900) p. 171. no. 44).

79. *AO* p. 223. Pl. 127.

80. *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

81. Athenaeus 393 e-f; Antoninus Liberalis. *Metamorphoses.* XVI.1-3 Aelian XV.29; Ovid. *Metamorphoses.* VI.90-92.

82. For example, the following winged Archaic statues and figurines were found in the sanctuaries examined here:

Artemision of Delos:	1 marble winged female statue ("Nike of Achermos") [*BCH* 3 (1879) pp. 393-99. Pl. 6 & 7].
Delion of Paros:	Fragments of 2 terracotta winged (? female) figurines [*MdI* 1 (1948) pp. 35-37. Pl. 33.94].
Acropolis of Athens:	4 marble *nikai* [Payne. Pl. 119-120].
Heraion of Delos:	1 terracotta winged female [*Délos* XXIII.60].
Argive Heraion:	2 fragments terracotta winged female figurines [Waldstein II. p. 28. Figs. 43-4].
Naxos (Demeter):	1 fragment (? Archaic) marble winged statue [*PAE* 1954 p. 336. Fig. 8].

These are figures in the round; their number is far exceeded by reliefs or engravings of winged deities in bronze, terracotta, ivory, lead and stone.

83. *JdI* 3 (1888) p. 357.

84. *AM* 50 (1925) p. 160. Fig. 1.

85. Hoenn. *Artemis.* Pl. I; *LexIc* II. "Artemis". 47.

86. C.A. Christoü. *Potnia Theron*. p. 69.

87. *Ibid*. pp. 53 and 64.

88. A Mycenean gold gem from Thisbe,for example, depicts a goddess shooting a stag; and a Cretan carnelian bead has a goddess with a bow (*JHS* 45 (1925) p. 21. Figs 24-5).

89. At least by the fourth century BC, hawks were used in hunting by the Thracians (see Aristotle 620a).

90. C.S. Blinkenberg. *Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole*. 1902-1914. Vol. I (*Les petits objets*). Berlin 1931 pp. 579-580.

91. *E.g. Southesk Collection of antique gems*. London 1908 Vol. II p. 111, Q.d.1. (Cypriote or Hittite cylinder seal, with eagle above two female deities *c*. 1500 BC); p. 93, Q.c.9 (Assyrian cylinder seal with male deity holding in each hand a struggling eagle by its legs).

92. Cook. *Op. cit.* Vol. III p. 832 Pl. 61.

93. R. Vallois. *L'Architectecture Hellenique et Hellénistique à Délos* Vol I. Paris 1944 p. 13.

94. *Lexlc* II. "Artemis". 461; *AE* 1901. pp. 113-120. pl. 6.

95. See, for example, *Lindos* I. pp. 28-9, 34 and 509-10.

96. The Archaic bronze "Aphrodite" with a dove, from Olympia, was found near the South-East building; so it could well have been a dedication made at the altar of Artemis later discovered in this area.

97. For the dedication of cocks to Asklepios, see Artemidorus, *Oneirocriticon* V.9; Herondas, *Mimes* IV.15-16; Plato, *Phaedo* 118a.

98. *OlForsch* XII. p. 185.

99. *FdD* V.2 46-98.

100. *Ergon* 1958 p. 95. Fig. 99; *PAE* 1958 p. 105. Pl. 83b; National Archaeological Museum of Athens, nos. 640, 645-6.

101. On the painted plaques from Penteskouphia, dedicated to Poseidon, horses far outnumber birds.

102. The number of lead cocks (a favourite subject for dedication in this material) at Artemis Orthia has not been specified. If these amounted to thirty or more, Artemis Orthia would surpass Pherai interms of bird-representation.

103. It must be said that among the bronze and terracotta figurines at Perachora, horses do outnumber birds.

104. *ADelt* 19 (1964) B² p. 247.

105. *AA* 95 (1980) p. 59. Fig. 31.

106. See above, p. 29 and note (9).

107. *BCH* 15 (1891) p. 139.

108. Xenophon of Ephesos. *Habrocomes and Antheia*. I. 2.4

109. The two eagles in the temple at Sparta, were dedicated by Lysander, for victories won in the Peloponnesian war (Pausanias III.17.4).

110. Waldstein. I. p. 24.

111. It was found in the South-east corner of the Altis, at the South East building. The nearest altar would be that of Artemis. (Aphrodite's altar was somewhere near the South-west corner of the Altis. See Plan 1. no. 37).

112. See below, "Dogs", p. 123.

113. Eight standing *kourotrophoi* and four seated (with fragments of seven more), and one pregnant woman, were found [Waldstein II: p. 19. Pl. 42.1 and Fig. 19; p. 21. Pl. 43.4; p. 25. Pl. 44.3. Figs. 37 & 38; p. 31. Fig. 52].

114. The birds with two young on their backs in bone, which decorated five *fibulai* at Knossos, may also have been intended as doves.

115. H. Payne. *Perachora; the sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*. Vol.1 (*Architecture, bronzes, terracottas*). Oxford 1940 pp. 133-4.

116. In three of these groups (from Artemis Orthia, and from Ephesos) only one of the two attributes is a bird, while the second is a snake or lion.

117. The image of the goddess surmounted by a single bird of prey is not in itself unparalleled: both the Grächwyl *hydria*, and the Hittite cylinder seal described above (see notes 85 and 91) represent this *motif*. See also the Archaic figurine from Apulia of a kneeling female holding a deer, and surmounted by a large eagle (*Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 563).

118. The other, a relief on a clay plaque, is damaged, but the birds are probably long-necked. They are large (almost the same size as the goddess) - recalling the bird on the engraved stone from Lindos.

119. Payne refers to the goddess on the reliefs as "Artemis" (*Perachora* I. pp. 146 and 186); but the dedicators perhaps regarded her, in this context, as Hera.

120. *AA* 95 (1980) p. 66. Fig. 32.

121. *Lindos*. I. pp. 9-10.

122. According to tradition, the Argives had a part in the foundation, or at least the development of the sanctuary. (Waldstein I. p. 47; Pausanias VII.4.4; Athenaeus XV, 672.) Above all the legend of Admete (told by Athenaeus) who fled from Argos to Samos, and undertook the care of the sanctuary which had been founded earlier by the Leleges and the Nymphs, suggests the appropriation by foreigners of the sanctuary of an earlier nature-goddess. According to Pausanias, however, the Samians believed that the goddess (like Apollo in Delos) had been born under a tree in the sanctuary.

PIGS AND WILD BOAR (*see Appendix 8.3*)

A. Categorization

In the following discussion, a distinction will be made between the boar and the pig, based not so much on the sex of the animal, as on its wildness or domesticity. According to one linguistic convention, a boar is a male pig; and at least one would be kept by the breeder, as they were by Odysseus' swine-herd Eumaeus[1]. But within the context of Greek art and mythology, the boar's image is associated with the activity of hunting, and with stories like that of the Kalydonian boar, and Adonis' death. In a sanctuary, the hunter might dedicate the tusks of the boar killed in the wild, perhaps in dangerous circumstances; while the domestic pig would be purchased and brought alive to the sacrificial altar. Yet in ancient times, before the development of the larger domestic animal as it is now known, there would probably have been little, if any, physical difference between the two categories of beast. The distinction lay in the degree of human interference: in a state of nature perhaps, more males would be left alive to grow to maturity, develop their dangerous tusks, and become the spoil of hunters. When archaeologists report on the finding of pigs' bones in sanctuaries, I take it that they are referring to young domestic pigs; since it would probably be impossible to distinguish between the bones of wild and domestic animals who were full-grown. In all likelihood, it is only the tusks which identify the wild boar whose remains were dedicated by huntsmen.

The distinction between wildness and domesticity, though it undoubtedly has a meaning in the context of votive offerings, is thus not always easy to determine with regard to the artefacts themselves. The distinction cannot always be made; either because the primary

evidence is not clear enough, or because it is not precisely recorded. In spite of their different implications, therefore, it is necessary to discuss wild boars and domestic pigs under one general heading. At the same time, much of the evidence is unequivocal enough to make sense of the distinction, and to allow a rough division of the material.

B. Pigs: literary evidence

According to literary evidence, pigs were commonly sacrificed to most deities. Eumaeus, having killed a boar from his herd, offered parts of it to all the gods[2]; and Odysseus is ordered to give to Poseidon a bull, a ram, and a domestic boar (a boar that mates with sows)[3]. Sucking pigs were sacrificed to Artemis Korythalia in Laconia[4]; at Lykosoura domestic boars were sacrificed to Apollo in the market-place[5]; and an inscription from Cos records the offering of a pig to Zeus[6]. Even Aphrodite, to whom pigs were not generally acceptable[7], was pleased with their flesh in Cyprus[8]. The blood of pigs, too, could be used for the purpose of religious purification: for example, the sixteen women in charge of Hera's games at Olympia, had to purify themselves with a pig before they could carry out any ceremony[9].

But pigs were regarded as especially suitable offerings for underworld deities[10]. Thus they were always sacrificed during the Eleusinian Mysteries[11]; and at the Thesmophoria, an autumnal rite of Demeter and Kore performed by women, young pigs were dropped living into a chasm or chamber in the earth. Pausanias refers to the custom as it was practised at Potniai in Boeotia, and describes the underground chambers as *megara*[12]; but the feast was widely celebrated, since other writers refer to it in more general terms, and in different parts of Greece[13]. The *aetion* for this ritual is the story of Eubuleus' swine,

who disappeared into the earth with Kore when she was carried off by Pluto[14].

Frazer believed that Demeter and Kore were themselves originally conceived as pigs; so that when Eubuleus' herd was engulfed, it was "not an accompaniment of Kore's descent, but the descent itself"[15]. Frazer bases his opinion on the general theory that when a god becomes anthropomorphic, the animal whose shape that god once had becomes instead the sacrificial victim. A myth in which Demeter or Persephone were transformed into swine would lend support to Frazer's idea; but as far as I know none survives. However, Frazer points out that the detail in a poem of Ovid, in which Demeter is foiled in her search for Kore, because the girl's footprints have been obliterated by the tracks of a pig, may be interpreted as the vestige of such a myth[16].

It seems that in European folklore the pig is a common embodiment of the corn-spirit[17]; and as such, properly would have belonged to Demeter. In fact Eubuleus was regarded by some as the brother of Triptolemos, to whom Demeter entrusted the first corn-seed[18]. The *aetion* for a sacred rite involving pigs on Mt. Dikte in Crete, was that the infant Zeus was nourished by a sow whose grunting drowned his cries[19]; and Cook suggests that Diktaean Zeus himself may have been worshipped here as a corn-spirit[20]. Certainly the fact that Zeus' sanctuary on Mt. Dikte was a cave, suggests an underworld cult[21]; and the rite practised may have been akin to the Thesmophoria, in which pigs (like corn-seed) were thrown into the earth in autumn. When Aelian explained the sacrifice of pigs during the Eleusinian Mysteries with reference to their frequent destruction of crops, he may be recording a contemporary ignorance about the real reasons for the custom.

C. Archaeological evidence

(i) Evidence of pig-sacrifice

The custom of sacrificing pigs not only to Demeter and Kore, but also to other deities, has been proved by the discovery of their bones in eight sanctuaries under examination in this study. Four of these sanctuaries, on the Acrocorinth and at Cyrene, Knossos and Cnidus, belonged to Demeter; and at the first three, a very great quantity of pig-bones, and none (or almost none) of other types of animal were reported[22]. Their presence has also been noted at the Ephesian Artemision, Halieis and Isthmia, and also at Kalapodi where both Artemis and Apollo may have been worshipped[23]. But at these sanctuaries the remains of other animals were equally if not more numerous[24].

Sanctuaries of Olympian deities where no pig-bones are recorded have nevertheless also produced evidence of their sacrifice. Not surprisingly, at least one fourth century marble relief from Eleusis depicts priests or votaries with a sacrificial pig; but on the Acropolis of Athens, also, two reliefs of cult-scenes show that a pig might be chosen as a victim for Athena. Finally, the terracotta figurines of women carrying young pigs in all probability also refer to the offerings of these animals to the deity of a sanctuary. This type of figurine has been reported at eight of the sanctuaries; and by far the largest collection were evidently dedicated to Hera at Tiryns, where Frickenhaus suggested that they may have been used (as at Olympia before the games of Hera) for the purification rites which were a feature of the cult of Argive Hera[25]. Athena also was the recipient of female pig-carriers at Tegea, Elateia, and (especially) at Lindos, where Blinkenberg saw them (like the female torch-bearers and *hydrophoroi* also found here) as commemorations of marriage rituals[26]. But the other four sanctuaries known to

have yielded these terracottas all belonged to Demeter. At Eleusis, where none of this type were reported, the pig-carriers were young boys who took the more imposing form of marble statuettes; while at Demeter's sanctuary in Cyrene, an interesting counterpart to the terracotta votary holding a pig (examples of which were also found here) is a limestone statuette of a seated female with a plate in her lap, containing a pig's head surrounded by loaves or fruit. This has the appearance of a sacred meal, offered to the goddess, or shared in by her worshippers, of which the pig forms the central part. The pig's head might be regarded as an offering to the Earth in its divine or anthropomorphic shape, parallel to that of the pigs thrown into the *megara* during the Thesmophoria. The head on the dish may be surrounded by loaves - the product of corn; and in the scholiastic commentary on Lucian[27], it is said that cakes as well as pigs were flung into the chasm during the Thesmophoria. Both this sacrifice, and the sacred meal of the statuette, must be pleas for the continued fruitfulness of the Earth.

(ii) *Representations of pigs in sanctuaries*

Representations of pigs have come to light in nineteen of the sanctuaries considered here: seven belonging to Demeter, six to Artemis, four to Athena, and two to Hera. The highest exact numbers recorded at any one sanctuary were the twenty-four terracottas from Lindos, although at Acrocorinth, "many" were found. As a general rule, however, images of pigs are considerably less common than birds or other domestic animals. None were discovered at Olympia, or among the lead figurines of Artemis Orthia; and apart from the Lindos figurines, no exact number larger than five has been recorded at any one sanctuary.

Five independent figurines were in fact discovered at Tiryns - an amount which does not match the 120 females carrying pigs which also came from this sanctuary. At Lindos the pig-figurines are balanced by a roughly equal number of females with pigs; but although these animals' bones were discovered at Ephesos and Kalapodi, none of Artemis' sanctuaries produced any pig-carrying females; perhaps because although they were undoubtedly sacrificed to Artemis along with other animals, this was not regarded as a central part of the cult.

Most of Demeter's sanctuaries where independent figurines of pigs were discovered, however, also produced either pig-carrying worshippers, or bones, sometimes in great numbers. At Acrocorinth numerous pigs and pig-carriers and also bones were reported. One terracotta pig was discovered with bones in a pit; both it, the bones, and the sides of the pit itself were charred, showing that the burning of the offerings took place below ground-level[28]. At Cnidus pig-bones and marble pigs were discovered in the same vaulted chamber; and although this was not apparently beneath the ground originally, Newton believed that it could have been a *megaron* analogous to those referred to by Pausanias at Potniai[29]. The consigning of these offerings to a pit or cavern-like chamber is reminiscent of the Thesmophoria ceremony, and appropriate for Demeter and Kore as goddesses of the Earth and the Underworld; and the mingling of statuettes and figurines with the bones of real animals both at Cnidus and Acrocorinth implies that the representations served as substitutes for, or commemorations of, burnt offerings.

Representations of pigs and pig-carriers are more likely to be found in sanctuaries of Demeter than in those of other deities. Out of eleven of her sanctuaries considered here, all but two produced examples

of one or the other or both, sometimes in conjunction with a considerable number of pig-bones. A much smaller proportion of the sanctuaries of Artemis and Athena produced any of these objects; and at no one sanctuary, apart from those of Demeter, have pig-carriers been reported as well as bones.

There is also a distinction between Demeter's sanctuaries and others, in the material of the representations. Most of these take the form of terracotta figurines; but at Eleusis, Knossos, and Cnidus (in the vaulted chamber with the bones) marble statues of pigs came to light; while at Cyrene, a limestone statue was found. At Eleusis, too, the statuettes of the boy-initiates are marble. Though not very numerous, these stone statues are in one sense more significant than their terracotta counterparts; since their greater value reflects the importance of the pig in Demeter's cult.

D. Wild boar: literary evidence

In nature there may have been no great physical distinction between domestic pigs and wild boar. But the legendary beast subdued by Herakles, or killed by Odysseus, Theseus or Meleager of Kalydon, was imagined as a very different kind of creature from the swine of Eumaeus which could be slaughtered with ease and at will. The Kalydonian boar was huge, and the poet of the *Iliad* states that more than a few men were needed to kill it[30]. The beast from Krommyon, in spite of being only a sow, was "no insignificant creature, but fierce and hard to master"; and Theseus resolved to kill it because as a brave man he wished to risk his life in battle with the nobler beasts[31]. The boar killed by Odysseus left the marks of its tusks on him[32]; and the ferocity of the boar hunted by Adonis led to his death[33]. The wild boar, in short, was a fit adversary for heroes, a quarry for legendary hunters[34]. It is no wonder that

its tusks were set on warriors' helmets[35]; or that Herakles, who overcame the Erymanthian boar as one of his labours[36], and who was still terrifying in the underworld, should wear a golden belt decorated with lions, bears and wild boar, the most dangerous of animals[37].

Pausanias noted that because of men's fears of them, the destructive wild beasts of legend were often imagined to belong to gods, or to be sent by them to punish the human race[38]. There is nevertheless no evidence that the Erymanthian boar, or Phaea, the sow killed by Theseus, was sent by any particular deity. But Apollodorus regarded the death of Adonis as the result of Artemis' anger, although he suggests no cause for it. The Kalydonian boar, moreover, was from the time of Homer regarded as an instrument of her vengeance; sent by her against King Oeneus, because he had not offered her the first fruits of his harvest[39]. It was, perhaps appropriate, then, that Atalanta, Artemis' protegée, should have been awarded the boar's skin, because she had been the first to strike it[40]. In the *Odyssey* Artemis is already seen as an archer who loved the pursuit of boar as well as deer[41]; and centuries later, Pausanias records that boar were among the game-animals sacrificed on Artemis Laphria's bonfire[42]. In one of the dedicatory epigrams of the Greek Anthology (also dating from Roman times) a mountain boar is promised to her, as the goddess who watches over wild creatures[43]. The tusks of the Erymanthian boar were supposed by the people of Cumae to have been dedicated not to Artemis but in their sanctuary of Apollo[44]; and Dionysos was the recipient of an iron boar's head in Pergamon[45]. But Artemis, as the goddess of hunting, is of all deities the most closely associated with wild boar; and it is appropriate that she should have been the deity who sent one to ravage Kalydon. The description by Philostratus of a temple of Artemis Agrotera

makes it clear, too, that boars' heads were regarded as a suitable decoration for her sacred buildings. In this sanctuary, the boar-hunters pause to sing a hymn to its patroness, before continuing the hunt[46].

E. Archaeological evidence

(i) Representations of boar in sanctuaries

Representations of wild boar are among the less commonly found votive offerings. They have not come to light in great number at any sanctuary. In the form of figurines or reliefs they have been reported at seven cult-places of Artemis[47]; one of Apollo[48]; two of Athena[49]; two of Demeter[50]; one of Zeus[51]; and one of Poseidon[52]. The bronze boar from the Acropolis of Athens might in fact have been a dedication to Artemis Brauronia; and Artemis could also have been the recipient of a similar figurine from Olympia[53]. On the other hand it seems to me that the figurines and statues at the Knossos and Cnidus sanctuaries of Demeter were probably supposed to represent the boar of the domestic herd, the boar that mates with sows, as Homer described it. (At both of these sanctuaries figurines and statues of pigs, not boars, were also found.) If the eleven Kanoni terracotta figurines of Artemis with a boar are taken into account, about fifty representations of the animals were discovered at the sanctuaries of this study; and thirty of these belonged to Artemis. Clearly, they have been found more often in sanctuaries of the goddess of hunting than in those of other deities; a preponderance which is consistent with literary evidence of Artemis' interest in wild boar.

The highest number of boar-images dedicated to any deity apart from Artemis are the seven paintings on the plaques from Poseidon's sanctuary at Penteskouphia. Poseidon, though a horseman, was not

a god especially associated with hunting; and I believe that the boar-paintings were dedicated because it was the custom at this sanctuary for men to offer representations of their own activities. There were many scenes featuring not only sea-farers, but potters and metal-workers; and five, at least, depicted men hunting boar[54]. The separate boars (which are greatly outnumbered by horses, bulls and sea-creatures) epitomize a human activity, the hunting of a wild animal, and do not reflect a religious association.

(ii) Remains of real boars in sanctuaries

The tusks and teeth of real boar, which also came to light in a few sanctuaries, were the dedications of hunters, like those in the Cumaean temple of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias. The hunter might have dedicated a trophy in his local sanctuary, perhaps originally nailing up the whole head to be seen by all. This is probably how the boar's jaw-bone came to the Nemean shrine. But the large number of boars' tusks found at Kalydon (where a bronze boar also came to light), shows that in this sanctuary they were dedicated more regularly; and in view of the boar-myth, it is especially fitting that they should be offered here. The bonfire of Artemis Laphria which Pausanias saw at Patras, must also have been a central feature of the cult at Kalydon before this sanctuary fell into decay. At Lousoi in the mountains of Arcadia, where boars' teeth were also found, Artemis was probably, as in Kalydon, worshipped as a huntress[55]; but with her title of Hemerasia she may have been regarded also as a tamer of wild animals[56]. At these sanctuaries, too, the entire boar's head may have been fastened to walls in the sanctuary; and it is even possible that the heads referred to in Philostratus' description of Artemis Agrotera's temple were real. But a permanent

decoration in stone is more likely: at the Asklepieion of Epidaurus, certainly, there were two marble boars' heads which served as water-spouts at each end of the facade of Artemis' temple. Along each side of the temple were a row of dog's head water-spouts; so that the whole composition was an epitome of the activity of hunting. Perhaps the large marble boar's head which Wood saw at the Artemision of Ephesos had a similar function.

One sanctuary not belonging to Artemis where numerous boars' tusks have been reported, is the Tegean shrine of Athena Alea. The tusks need not indicate that the goddess there was usurping Artemis' position as a huntress, though no doubt she was originally a *potnia theron*. But the hunters who left them there may have been prompted to do so by the local legend of Atalanta, which was illustrated in the fourth century pedimental sculptures of Skopas[57]. Having been awarded the head and hide of the Kalydonian boar, Atalanta brought them home to Tegea, whence they were eventually removed to Rome by Augustus[58]. The subject of the East pediment could have been chosen for motives of local pride, rather than religious association; and the remains of the hunted animals brought to the sanctuary in a parallel commemoration of the legend. But it is also possible that Atalanta herself had an altar in Tegea's principal shrine, and received her own offerings there. As a version of Artemis, a virgin huntress[59], the boars' teeth or tusks would have been suitable for her. But there is no literary or epigraphical evidence of such a cult.

F. Conclusion

Representation both of pigs, and of wild boar, have been found, although not in great number, at the sanctuaries of several deities.

In general, however, it seems that Artemis was more likely than other deities to receive dedications which represent or are part of the boar. This pattern is consistent with her character from Homer onwards as goddess of hunting and *potnia theron* (one who not only hunted but tamed wild animals); and with the power she exercised in myth over the famous boar of Kalydon, and Adonis' unfortunate fate. Both Philostratus' description, and the marble boars' heads from Epidaurus, indicate that her temples might properly be decorated with their images. Moreover, Artemis seems to be the only deity actually represented with a boar as victim or companion - a *motif* which to my knowledge is not to be seen in the extant Bronze Age or Archaic images of the *potnia theron*. But eleven fifth-century figurines from Kanoni depict the goddess, sometimes with bow in hand, either protectively supporting a single boar by its front feet, or more domineeringly grasping it by one hindleg. Poulsen suggested that the bronze boar from Kalydon (undated and unillustrated in his publication) may also have been part of a *potnia theron* group. If so, it may be a direct reference to the legend of the Kalydonian boar. But judging by the Archaic figurines from Artemis Orthia, Ephesos and Thasos, boars in isolation were evidently felt to be suitable dedications for Artemis from quite an early period. As animals both fierce and wild, they may be seen as a symbol of one side of her nature as a goddess of mountains and forests, capable at times of unleashing violent destruction on men and property.

On the other hand it has been seen that the domestic pig, either as a real sacrifice, or in model form, was dedicated most often to Demeter. The custom of throwing pigs beneath the earth during the Thesmophoria, which some of the figurines and statues may have served to commemorate, had its *aetion* in the story of Eubuleus' swine; a legend which Frazer

has interpreted as the remnant of an old belief that Demeter and Kore were themselves pig-shaped. The Thesmophoria was a fertility-ritual, designed to prosper the sowing of corn; and the pig is perhaps nearer to the earth than other domestic animals, rooting about and turning the soil in search for its food. It also produces more offspring at a single birth than do cattle, sheep or goats. The earthiness as well as the fertility of the beast makes it appropriate as a sacrifice, and a symbol for the Earth goddesses Demeter and Kore.

Footnotes

1. *Odyssey*. XIV. 418-424.
2. *Ibid. Loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid*. XI. 131.
4. Athenaeus 139 b.
5. Pausanias. VIII. 38.8.
6. *JHS* 9 (1889) p. 335 (line 33).
7. Aristophanes. *Acharnians*. 793. ("a pig's no sacrifice for Aphrodite"). *cf*. Pausanias. II. 10.4.
8. Athenaeus. 95 f.
9. Pausanias. V. 16.8. *cf*. Apollonius of Rhodes. *Argonautica*. IV. 702 ff.
10. *RE* 2 AI (1921) 812.
11. See Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. X. 16; Aristophanes. *Scholia in Acharnenses*. 747.
12. Pausanias. IX. 8.1.
13. Plutarch. *Moralia*. 298 B; Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*. II. 1.9; Aristophanes. *Scholia in Ranas*. 338, and *Scholia in Pacem*. 374.
14. Clement of Alexandria. *Protrepticus*. II. 14-15.
15. J.G. Frazer. *The Golden Bough*. London. 1890. Vol. II. pp. 44-49.

16. *Fasti*. IV. 463-66.

17. Frazer. *Op. cit.* p. 44.

18. Pausanias. I. 14.2.

19. Athenaeus. 375 f.

20. *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 153.

21. *cf.* the cave of Demeter outside Phigalia (Pausanias. VIII. 42.1).

22. At Knossos, in both the Minoan and Geometric periods, sheep and goats were most commonly dedicated; but after the Geometric period, the pig was "overwhelmingly the most commonly occurring species". (J.N. Coldstream. *Knossos*. p. 177.)

23. The pigs' bones from the Lindian sanctuary were found to be of mediaeval or later date. (*Lindos*. I. pp. 183-4.)

24. At Halieis the remains of goats were also numerous (*ADelt*. 29 (1973-4) B² *Chr*. p. 263); at Isthmia and Kalapodi, both sheep and goats were present. (O. Broneer. *Temple of Poseidon. Isthmia*. Vol. I. p. 56; *AA* 95 (1980) pp. 64-5); while at Ephesos goats and cattle were more numerous than pigs (*Festschrift*. I. p. 108).

25. Pausanias. II. 17.1.

26. *Lindos*. I. p. 579.

27. See note 13.

28. *Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 10.

29 C.T. Newton. *A History of discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*. London 1861-3. Vol. II. p. 391, note e.

30. *Iliad*. IX. 533-546.

31. Plutarch. *Theseus*. 9 (Loeb. *Lives*. Vol. I. p. 19). *cf.* Apollodorus. *Epitome* 1.1; Diodorus IV. 59.4; and Pausanias I. 27.9. Pausanias refers to the animal as a boar, no doubt because of its wildness.

32. *Odyssey*. XIX. 439-466.

33. *Orphica* (Hymn 56); Apollodorus. III. 14.4; Bion. *Epitaphs*. i.

34. Rouse has noted the recurrence of the boar hunt *motif* in funerary reliefs for the heroized dead (*Greek votive offerings*. pp. 25-26).

35. *Iliad*. X. 263-5.

36. Sophocles. *Trachiniae*. 1097; Pausanias. VIII. 24.5; Apollodorus. II. 5.4.

37. *Odyssey*. XI. 611.

38. Pausanias. I. 27.9.

39. *Iliad. Loc. cit.*

40. Apollodorus. I. 8.1-2; Pausanias. VIII. 45.2.

41. *Odyssey*. VI. 102-104.

42. Pausanias. VII. 18.7.

43. *API* VI. 240.

44. Pausanias. VIII. 24.5.

45. *Ibid*. X. 18.5.

46. Philostratus. *Imagines*. I. 28.6.

47. Artemis Orthia; Ephesos; Kalydon; Thasos; Kanoni; Epidaurus; and (possibly) Pherai.

48. Delphi.

49. The Acropolis of Athens, and the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta. At Sparta (as at Olympia) the warlike nature of the boar made it a decoration for a helmet (*cf.* the helmet described in *Iliad* X. 263-5).

50. Knossos and Cnidus.

51. Olympia.

52. Penteskouphia.

53. It was found S.E. of the Byzantine church. This would bring it within the general area of the Leonidaion, to the right of which stood an altar to Artemis Agoraia (Pausanias. V. 15.4) (see Fig. 1). On the other hand, the athletes of Olympia had to swear to Zeus, over a dismembered boar, to do no wrong to the Games; and the bronze figurine could have been dedicated in commemoration of such an occasion (*Ibid*. V. 24.9). The helmet engraved with a boar between two lions was found in the S.E. area, near the altar of Artemis, and may also have been a dedication to this goddess.

54. A. Fürtwangler. *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*. Berlin 1885. 893-7.

55. The fifth century gold and ivory statue, which was brought to Patras from Kalydon, showed Artemis as a huntress (Pausanias. VIII. 18.6).

56. See Pausanias. VIII. 18.8.

57. C. Dugas. *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athena à Tegée au IV Siècle*. Paris 1924. pp. 80-86; Pl. 96-98; Pl. 108.

58. Pausanias. VIII. 46.1.

59. Pausanias interprets as Atalanta the Artemis-like figure of a woman holding a faun, on the chest of Kypselos (V. 19.2).

CATTLE *(See Appendix 8.4)*

A. Literary evidence

(i) Sacrifice

Literature records that cattle, as the largest and most valuable kind of animal sacrifice, were offered to many Olympian deities[1]. In Homer, Poseidon appears as the chief recipient of bulls, sometimes in large numbers[2]. The black bulls of Pylos were sacrificed on the shore, close beside that element ruled directly by the god[3]; and the habit of throwing bulls into the sea for Poseidon is attested by several writers of a much later period. The colonists sailing to Lesbos offered a bull directly from their ship[4]; and Alexander the Great, no doubt consciously observing a Homeric tradition, paid homage to Poseidon in the same way at the mouth of the Indus[5]. Pausanias tells the story of a bull already associated with the sea, since before it was offered to Poseidon, it had led the fishermen of Corcyra to a good catch[6]. But bulls were also sacrificed to Zeus[7], Apollo[8], and Dionysos[9]. To the goddesses, on the other hand, it was customary to offer female cattle: in Homer Athena is on several occasions the recipient of heifers, sometimes with their horn-tips painted gold[10]. In the Dedicatory Epigrams, Hera and Demeter are also invoked as the objects of heifer-sacrifice, and in one case Demeter is offered clay models of the beasts (who were no doubt under her protection as ploughing-animals)[11]. Pausanias, too, mentions the sacrifice of cows, heifers and oxen to these two goddesses[12]; and it seems that even bulls were not unknown as a sacrifice for female deities, for according to Diodorus, in Sicily they were thrown into a pool for Kore[13].

(ii) Cattle and the gods

But gods were associated with cattle in other ways than as recipients of sacrifice. In the *Iliad* Apollo is described as having cared for King Laomedon's cattle with their crooked horns[14]; and he had himself been the owner of cattle till they were stolen from him by Hermes[15] (hence his title of *Nomios*, Apollo of the pastures[16]). For this reason, Pausanias believed, a bronze Apollo in the Agora of Patras rested his foot on the skull of an ox[17].

Cook has suggested that Hera, called by Homer ox-eyed[18], may once have been worshipped as a cow[19]. Certainly, she transformed her Argive priestess Io into a heifer[20]; and those whom the gods metamorphose, tend to be versions of the god in question, as bear-shaped Kallisto was a version of Artemis. So it is appropriate that Hera's priestess at Argos was generally drawn to the sanctuary by yoked oxen[21]. Zeus was supposed to have taken the form of a bull to pursue Io[22]; and in the same shape he carried Europa to Crete, there to found the bull-worshipping dynasty of Minos[23]. Dionysos, too, was sometimes regarded as bull-shaped. Plutarch records that the Greeks made his statues in a bull's form[24], and that he was addressed as a bull by the women of Argos[25], and also (as Zeus' son) called "son of the bull"[26]; while Strabo notes that he was described by a character in Sophocles as ox-horned Iacchus[27]. It was Nilsson's opinion that the calf wearing buskins (actors' boots) sacrificed to Dionysos at Tenedos[28], was supposed to represent the god himself[29]; and that it was as a rather wild fertility god that he was conceived in this form[30].

But above all, the bull was the animal of Poseidon, to whose festival it gave the name of *Tauria*[31]. Just as Artemis' servants at Brauron were called bears, so the young men who poured wine at this

feast in Ephesos were known as bulls[32]. This kind of role-playing marks a special relationship, even a common identity, between god and beast. Poseidon is scarcely a fertility-god like Dionysos: so perhaps it was the strength and anger of the animal whose tread shakes the ground, that made it a symbol for the god of earthquakes (whom Hesiod called "bull-like earth-shaker"[33]). Poseidon could send an earthquake to terrify human-beings; and for the same purpose he sent a bull to ravage Crete, in punishment for Minos' lack of respect[34]. Considering the damage done by earthquakes at Knossos, it is possible that the myth is a recollection of this kind of natural disaster. At Theseus' request, Poseidon also sent a bull from the sea which maddened Hippolytus' horses, and the episode in Euripides is like the description of a tidal wave[35]. For Poseidon was also a water-god, and Strabo suggested that the bellowing of a bull recalls the voice of stormy waters[36].

(iii) Bull-derived titles, and Bronze Age religion

Since the *Tauria* was a festival of Poseidon, it is not surprising that *Taureios* should have been one of his titles[37]. The name of *Taurobolos* (bull-slayer) seems to have been applied occasionally to Athena, for example on Andros[38]. But the deity most often endowed with a bull-derived title is Artemis, who was called *Tauropolos* (interpreted variously as "drawn by bulls", "hunting bulls" and "worshipped at Tauris")[39]. At Amphipolis she had an important sanctuary under this name; and Strabo alone refers to six other sanctuaries in Greece, Italy and Asia which belonged to Artemis Tauropolos[40]. According to Clement of Alexandria she was worshipped in Phokaia[41]; and in the *Acta Sanctorum* it is noted that *Tauropolos* was a title of Artemis also in Sparta[42]. This seems surprising, in view of the fact that literature

offers little other evidence of a special association between Artemis and cattle. At Hyampolis, it is true, she was regarded as a protectress of herds; and the animals which were sacred to her there, flourished more than the others of their kind[43]. But as Nilsson points out, it is specifically the bull, and not the ox or cow, which is attached to Artemis in the title[44]; and perhaps the association is based on the wildness of the animal (once hunted by Theseus) and on the procreative force which also linked it with Dionysos. The *Tauropolia*, celebrated for the goddess at Halai (where there was a Dionysion quite near Artemis' sanctuary) seems to have had something in common with a Dionysiac rout. According to Menander, this nocturnal feast of women was disorderly enough for a drunken and licentious male to be present, and even to commit rape without attracting much attention[45]. A night-festival also suggests the cult of a Hekate-like deity; and in the Orphic Hymn to Hekate, it happens that the same title was applied to this goddess[46].

The bull-derived titles applied to some Olympian gods, and the stories of transformation into cattle in which more than one of them took part, may be the legacy for a prehistoric religion in which bull-worship was an important element. In his article on animal-worship during the Mycenean age, Cook has pointed out the recurrence of the bull-*motif*, and especially the bull's head, in Bronze Age art[47]; and suggested that terracotta and stone statuettes of "bull-headed humanity" may represent the bull-worshippers in their sacrificial costume[48]. Certainly the story of Zeus and Europa is directly related to Crete; and it is also possible to interpret some episodes in the story of Theseus as allegorical versions of the defeat of this old religion. For not only did the hero defeat the Minotaur, the bull-headed man, in his underground lair[49]; but he snared the Marathonian bull which was sent from Crete,

and sacrificed it to Apollo, a god of the sky[50]; and also while in Crete outwrestled Taurus, a general of Minos whose role as Pasiphae's suspected lover as well as his name, equates him with a bull[51]. Since defeated gods seldom disappear without a trace, the transformations and titles of Olympian deities referring to cattle may well be an echo of the religious cults of prehistoric Crete and Greece.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Sacrifice

There have been few reports of the discovery of cattle-bones in sanctuaries to match the clear literary evidence that they were widely sacrificed to the gods. But at the Lindian sanctuary of Athena, inside which no burnt offerings were made, the presence of their bones indicate that cattle were consumed at sacred meals, and must have been sacrificed somewhere near at hand, in the goddess' name[52]. Their presence has also been reported in the sanctuaries of Demeter at Cnidus and Knossos, of Poseidon at Isthmia, and of Artemis at Ephesos and Delos. At Dreros, where Apollo was worshipped, ox-teeth and a single ox-horn were discovered.

The sacrifice of cattle might also be commemorated by representations of the ritual which were set up in the sanctuary itself. The cattle of the Parthenon Frieze were led to the altar during the Panathenaic Festival; but at least one dedicatory relief from the Acropolis depicting a sacrificial ox shows that they were also offered to Athena by private individuals. The interpretation of a fragmentary marble relief from Poseidon's sanctuary at Sounion as a scene of bull-sacrifice seems to be based on literary evidence rather than the details of the sculpture itself; but two marble reliefs from Brauron depicting cult-scenes with

a bull or cow are clear enough, and indicate (like the bones at Ephesos and Delos) that although Artemis is not mentioned either by Homer or by Pausanias as the recipient of cattle, they were sacrificed in her cults. A more fanciful scene of bull-sacrifice (in which a *nike* leads the animal) is represented on one of the fourth century reliefs decorating the pedestals of columns at Ephesos.

The Archaic marble *moschophoros* from the Acropolis seems to reinforce the evidence of the Frieze and dedicatory relief; and fragmentary archaic marble groups from the Heraion of Samos representing youths holding cows by their horns, two damaged limestone figurines of a man with a bull from Apollo's sanctuary at Naukratis, and the Geometric bronze group from Delphi, are consistent with the literary evidence of sacrifices made to Hera and to Apollo. It must be said, however, that while cult-scenes of animal sacrifice are a clear enough indication that the animals depicted were offered to the god of the sanctuary, statues or figurines of men with animals are more equivocal. Such a group might, alternatively, have had a similar function to that of the *pinakes* depicting trades given to Poseidon at Penteskouphia, and show simply that the farmer or breeder wished to place himself and his herds under the god's protection.

(ii) *Representations of cattle in sanctuaries*

Evidence that cattle were sacrificed to the gods has survived both in literary and iconographical form. Should the numerous representations of cattle which were dedicated in sanctuaries be interpreted as a further expression of sacrificial custom? Were they, that is, commemorations of, or substitutions for a burnt offering, or were they offered to the deity for some other purpose? Since the images of animals

discovered in sanctuaries do not carry written explanations, it is possible only to examine their distribution, and attempt to determine whether this is as even as the practice of sacrifice.

Protomes or masks of cattle, made either as independent figurines or pendants, or as decorations for Archaic bronze cauldrons and other vases, have been discovered at the sanctuaries of most deities examined here (although apparently the Poseidon sites produced only two). According to published reports, the greatest number were found in sanctuaries of Hera - four out of the five examined here having produced this type of dedication. Most of them came from the Samian Heraion, where at least sixteen were found, together with an unspecified number of terracotta *rhyta* in the shape of bulls' heads; but they were also present at the *heraia* of Argos, Delos and Perachora. Eighteen cattle-heads altogether were reported from five sanctuaries of Athena, whose altar of Tegea was decorated with this *motif*, and fourteen at Olympia; while Apollo received eleven, apart from an indefinite number of Late Geometric terracotta oxheads which were dedicated to him at Dreros. It seems that cattle-heads were found in few sanctuaries of Artemis; apart from one each in the Pherai and Knakeatis shrines, all of those dedicated to her came to light at Artemis Orthia, where the exact number of Archaic lead-pendants in this shape has not been published.

The immediate purpose of these cattle-protomes was (often) decorative; although they may also have reflected a custom of nailing up the slaughtered animal's head to a wall or tree[53]. At Dreros, in particular, the Geometric clay ox-heads need not have been vase-decorations; and the numbers of ox-teeth and the horn also discovered at this sanctuary suggest that the figurines might commemorate sacrifice, or imitate the practice of retaining the heads of real oxen. Apollo's

statue at Patras rested its foot on an oxhead; and it is possible that this form of dedication was regarded as acceptable to Apollo as a god of herds.

The presence of whole cattle in the form of statues, figurines and reliefs is much more frequent, and even less equally distributed among the sanctuaries than that of their abbreviated form. At least 2,200 have been recovered; and although there are examples from most shrines, in certain of them the numbers are especially great. The site which has yielded by far the greatest number of cattle-representations is Olympia, where more than 1,800 Geometric and early Archaic bronze figurines, including fragments, were found, 460 of which have been catalogued by Heilmeyer[54]. Judging by Heilmeyer's list, bulls outnumbered other cattle in a proportion of two to one. In later times, Pausanias saw large bronze statues of bulls which had been dedicated to Zeus in the Altis[55]; but there is no suggestion in his account that they commemorated sacrifices to the deity. On the contrary, one represented the bull which had been sacrificed to Poseidon by the people of Corcyra[56]. Nor is it generally considered that the early bronzes have much to do with sacrifice. It is possible that they were regarded as appropriate dedications for Zeus and Hera, both of whom had asociations with cattle which were expressed in mythology. But the suggestion that (like the contemporary terracottas from this site) the bronze cattle simply reflect the agricultural life of the early inhabitants of the region, and the importance to them of their herds, is perhaps a more likely explanation[57].

The other sanctuaries where large numbers of cattle-representations have been found are Aphaia's in Aegina (where more than 100, mostly Mycenean, came to light), the Heraion of Samos and possibly the sanctuary

at Lato in Crete, which produced a large but unspecified number of Archaic terracotta oxen. At Samos, where more cattle-protomes were found than at other sanctuaries, about sixty representations of whole cattle have been reported, both bulls and cows, mostly terracotta, but also bronze, marble and limestone. The presence of marble "sacrificers" leading cows or bulls in the same sanctuary suggest that the images of cattle may in part refer to sacrifice; but as literary evidence shows that these animals were slaughtered for most of the Olympian gods (and for other divinities as well), it is unlikely that this is their only significance in the Heraion. Evidently the *motif* of the bull or cow was a central one here, since it appears in a variety of materials, and decorates several kinds of vessels. In view of this, it may be significant that the goddess to whom the heifer was dedicated in Epigram 243 should be specifically Hera of Samos. But even Perachora and the Argive Heraion were quite well supplied with representations of the animal. I believe that the connection between ox-eyed Hera and cattle may be more than sacrificial. The predominance of their images at Samos may reflect an old belief (possibly reflected in the myth of Io) that Hera was cow-shaped. Perhaps the idea of a theriomorphic deity was slower to die in the East, where contacts with Egypt and Asia were closer. Several of the cattle dedicated there were eastern imports, and it is possible that an Egyptian ivory Hathor column was chosen for dedication because its surmounting cow's head was thought to be appropriate for Hera of Samos, as a Greek version of the Egyptian cow-goddess[58].

At Samos, as at Olympia, representations of cattle outnumber both horses and birds. But this predominance is rare in female sanctuaries. For example, at Perachora, where thirty-six whole cattle in all

were reported, mostly as reliefs on paste seals, they are less common than horses or birds. The only exception to the general rule that in female sanctuaries birds outnumber cattle, apart from Samos, Aphaia's sanctuary, and Lato, is Kombothreka (where the numbers of all animals reported are small). Even at Aphaia, there are nearly twice as many birds as cattle among the post-Mycenean figurines. But in the sanctuaries of male deities the pattern is often different.

The predominance of cattle at Olympia has already been noted. In Poseidon's sanctuary at Penteskouphia, where at least eighteen paintings of bulls decorate the *pinakes*, they outnumber birds and are second only to horses. At Isthmia, one gold, and five bronze bulls have been reported, but no birds. And at a third sanctuary of Poseidon, in Kalauria where the number of animal-representations found is very small, there are equal amounts of cattle and horses, and apparently no birds at all[59]. No details of animal-figurines have been reported from his sanctuary at Sounion; but interestingly enough almost the only image of an animal described is the engraving of a bull caught in a snare, on a Mycenean gem. It is tempting to see in this a reference to the bull of Marathon, sent by Poseidon, and caught by Theseus. In any case, though the numbers are not in themselves great, I believe that their prominence in Poseidon's sanctuaries (in comparison with most other animals) doreflect the tradition that bulls were especially sacred
14 to this god. The value of the gold bull dedicated at Isthmia, in particular, seems to indicate the importance of the beast in Poseidon's cult.

In the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, the horse is the most frequently depicted animal; but cattle were also present, including a silver bull which may have been an acknowledgement of the god's interest in herds; while in the Ptoion, Dreros, Kato Phana and Kynouria, where the

numbers reported are very small, more cattle than birds or horses were found, according to the archaeological accounts. At Amyclai, Apollo Maleatas and Naukratis, lack of detail in the reports unfortunately makes it impossible to determine the proportion of cattle to other animals.

C. The question of Artemis Tauropolos and the bull-goddess of Crete

Despite Artemis' title of *Tauropolos*, and the tangible evidence already noted that cattle were sacrificed to her, the sanctuaries of this goddess have not produced a specially large number of their images. Although they have been found in eight of her sanctuaries examined here (including Kalapodi, where the figurines are Mycenean), it appears that she received fewer than Zeus or Hera and no more than Apollo or Athena[60]. Most of the cattle-representations dedicated to Artemis come from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, where more than thirty, in bronze, ivory, terracotta and lead were found, from the Geometric period to the third century BC, but mostly Archaic. Yet these are greatly outnumbered by horses and birds, and at no other sanctuary (as far as is known) did Artemis receive so many. Only at Kombothreka, where about ten Geometric cattle of bronze and terracotta have survived, do they outnumber horses and birds. As a rule, sanctuaries of Artemis are not abundant in representations of cattle. Some other kinds of animal are much more frequent as dedications to her; while cattle were offered in greater numbers to other deities.

The important sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis has not yet been discovered,and no evidence of animal-figurines from her sanctuary at Halai, if it exists, has been published. Only at Nas in Ikaria where she was also Tauropolos, the sole (and fragmentary)

animal reported may be a bull; and at her sanctuary in Aricia some bronze horns, apparently from bulls, were mentioned in the reports. Hogarth suggested, too, that the six gold ox or bull horns from Ephesos may have referred to Artemis Tauropolos[61]; and bulls were certainly quite prominent in the external decoration of Croesus' temple, since they formed the *motif* sculptured on the columns *in antis*. In all, this is rather scanty archaeological evidence for Artemis' character as a goddess of bulls. At Brauron, however, where no independent cattle-representations are on display in the Museum, there are two fragmentary
16 clay plaques which depict Artemis seated on a bull. Brauron is very near to the *Tauropolos* sanctuary at Halai; and coins of a later period (the second century BC) from Amphipolis, evidently referring to the city's principal cult of Artemis Tauropolos, depict the goddess in the same guise riding upon a galloping bull[62]. Mention has been made of the Dionysiac atmosphere of the *Tauropolia* of Halai, as described by Menander[63]; and W. Technau has pointed out that the bull-riding goddess (whatever her name) has associations with Dionysos and his rout because she is a goddess of the earth; and he cites a B-F crater from Orvieto where the *motif* forms part of a Dionysiac revel[64].

But the bull-riding female was a *motif* also during the Bronze Age. For example, glass plaques of the fourteenth century BC from a tomb at Dendra near Mycenae, show a goddess seated on what looks like a bull[65]. Reference has been made to the importance of the bull in Bronze Age religion; and I have suggested that it left mythological traces in some of Theseus' heroic exploits. Moreover the concept of Europa, the mother of the Minoan dynasty, who rode to Crete on the divine bull, seems to fit the image of a bull-goddess like that depicted on the Brauron plaques. The fact that at those of our sanctuaries

where Bronze Age figurines or engravings of animals have been found, they are almost all cattle, probably also reflects the importance of these animals in the religion of the period[66]. The sanctuary where the highest number of Mycenean cattle has been exactly recorded is Aphaia's, in Aegina; and it happens that among these figurines there were two bulls with riders on their backs. The Mycenean terracottas indicate the presence of a Bronze Age cult on the site of Aphaia's sanctuary; and while there is no archaeological proof of continuity of worship here, it is of some interest that Aphaia was regarded as a Cretan goddess by tradition[67]. Representations of cattle were also dedicated to Aphaia in historic times, whereas she received very few horses; so it seems possible that the goddess of this sanctuary (a friend to Artemis, who deified her) continued to be associated with cattle. In Crete itself, at Lato, where a *potnia theron* whom Pierre Demargne described as "a sister of Artemis Orthia and of Artemis of Ephesos"[68], (and who may have been Eileithyia) had her cult, numerous representations of cattle (more than any other animal) were dedicated during the Archaic period. The concept of a bull-riding goddess, too, was alive in Crete at the time, as a seventh century Cretan helmet, decorated with this *motif*, and found in Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi, makes clear.

Artemis' role as a goddess of wild nature and fertility gave her an affinity with the bull-riding goddess of Bronze Age Crete, as it did with Aphaia (a version of Diktynna or Britomartis[69]) and with the goddess of Lato. Hence she is represented as a bull-rider at Brauron, and on the coins of Amphipolis; and even the goddess of the Cretan helmet from Delphi might have been associated in the dedicator's mind with the sister of the sanctuary's patron deity. There is literary and epigraphical evidence that Artemis herself was worshipped there[70]; and in the

mountains above the sanctuary an orgiastic women's cult in honour of Dionysos and Apollo was practised[71], in which Artemis as a bull-riding goddess might appropriately have taken part.

The scarcity of cattle-representations which has been observed in Artemis' sanctuaries compared with those of some other deities may seem at variance with her title of *Tauropolos*. But as an Olympian goddess Artemis was not in general primarily concerned with domestic herds. The goddess on the bull was a wilder type of divinity deriving her ancestry from the Bronze Age; and the title may have been an acknowledgement both of the element of wildness in Artemis' character, and of her dominion over it in the natural world. It was also the echo of an old cult in which cattle, especially bulls, were of prime significance. In fact Artemis was not the only female deity to inherit aspects of the ancient bull-goddess. It has been seen that Athena might be called by the similar title of *Taurobolos*; and at her Tegean sanctuary an Archaic bronze disk representing a *potnia theron* standing on a bull was dedicated[72].

D. Conclusion

No deity had a monopoly of cattle-representations in his sanctuaries. The living animal was sacrificed to many gods; and in many sanctuaries it was to be seen in the form of statues or figurines, or as a decorative *motif* on various objects. Despite Artemis' bull-derived title of *Tauropolos*, which may have referred to her nature as fertility goddess and to her Bronze Age ancestry, and reflected an orgiastic, even Dionysiac element in her cult, the sanctuaries belonging to her are not in general specially rich in cattle-representations. But among the deities of the sanctuaries considered in this study, both Poseidon and Hera had links (which left

echoes in ritual and mythology) beyond those of sacrificial custom, with the bull and the ox or cow respectively. To some extent these links are reflected in the numbers and proportion of the cattle-representations discovered in their sanctuaries.

Footnotes

1. *RE* 3 A 2 (1929) 2512.

2. *Odyssey*. I.25; III.6; III.178-182; XI.131; XIII.181-2; *Iliad*. XX.403-406.

3. *Odyssey*. III.6.

4. Plutarch. *Moralia*. 163B.

5. Arrian. *Anabasis*. VI.19.5. *cf* Athenaeus, 261.d-e (the people of Tiryns cast a bull into the sea for Poseidon).

6. Pausanias. X.9.2.

7. Pausanias. I.24.4; IX.3.4.

8. Theseus sacrificed the bull of Marathon in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios [Plutarch. *Theseus*. 14]. See also Xenophon. *Hellenica*. VI.4.29.

9. Pausanias. VIII.19.2; Aelian. XII.34; Athenaeus. 456D.

10. *Odyssey*. III.418-452; *Iliad*. X.292-4; VI.94, 274 and 308.

11. *API* VI.40 and 258 (Demeter); 243 (Hera *cf RE Op. cit.* 2514).

12. Pausanias. V.16.3; IX.3.4 (Hera). II.35.4 (Demeter). At Hermione, the cows sacrificed to Demeter Chthonia were killed by old women with sickles.

13. Diodorus.V.4.2.

14. *Iliad*. XXI.446-448.

15. *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. 18.

16. Nonnus. *Dionysiaca*. I.330.

17. Pausanias. VII.20.2.

18. e.g. *Iliad*. I.551.

19. "Hera in therio-morphic guise was a sacred cow" (*JHS* 14 (1894) p. 132) *cf* Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. V.330, where Juno is described as taking the form of a white cow.

20. Aeschylus. *Suppliant Women*. 291-301; Pausanias. III.18.3; Nonnus. *Dionysiaca*. I.334-8.

21. Herodotus. I.31.

22. Nonnus. *Loc. cit.*

23. Apollodorus. III.1.1. Nonnus. *Op cit.* I.46-136.

24. *Moralia*. 364F.

25. *Ibid*. 299B.

26. *Ibid*. 364F.

27. Strabo. 687.

28. Aelian. XII.34.

29. M.P. Nilsson. *Griechische Feste*. p. 308.

30. *Ibid*. p. 261.

31. *Ibid*. pp. 79-80. See Hesychius' gloss on "Tauria".

32. Athenaeus. 425C.

33. Hesiod. *The Shield of Herakles*. 104.

34. Pausanias. I.27.9; Apollodorus. III.1.3-4.

35. Euripides. *Hippolytus*. 1213-1248; 887-890.

36. Strabo. 458. Euripides refers to Oceanus as bull-headed (*Orestes*. 1378).

37. See Hesychius' gloss on this word.

38. See the glosses given by Hesychius and Suidas.

39. See *LSJ* on this word.

40.

Amphipolis (Thrace)	*API* VII.702; Livy. XLIV.4.
Halai (Attica)	Strabo. IX.1.22 (399).
Ikaros (Greece)	XIV.1.9 (636).
Aricia (Italy)	V.3.12 (239).
Ikarus (Persian Gulf)	XVI.3.2 (765).
Komana (Cappadocia)	XII.2.3 (535).
Kastabala (Cappadocia)	XII.2.7 (537).

41. *Protrepticus*. III.42.6, p. 32.6.

42. *Acta Sanctorum*. VII.22..

43. Pausanias. X.35.4.

44. Nilsson. *Op. cit.* pp. 251-252.

45. Menander. *Epitrepontes*. 234-261.

46. *Orphia. Hymn to Hekate*. line 7.

47. *JHS* 14 (1894) pp. 120-132.

48. *Ibid*. pp. 120-122.

49. See Plutarch. *Theseus*. 15.

50. *Ibid*. 14; Pausanias. I.27.9.

51. Plutarch. *Op. cit.* 19. For Pasiphae's love of the bull sent by Poseidon, see Euripides. *Hippolytus*. 337-8; Diodorus. IV.77.1-4; Apollodorus. III.1.3-4.

52. *Lindos*. I. p. 11.

53. One of the dedicatory epigrams records how Glaucon and Corydon nailed onto a plane-tree the horns of a steer which they had sacrificed to Pan (*API* VI.96).

54. *OlForsch* XII. pp. 185 and 196; pp. 199-271 *passim*.

55. Pausanias. V.27.9.

56. *Ibid*. X.9.2.

57. *OlForsch* VII. pp. 87-8. *Cf* U. Sinn *AM* 96 (1981) pp. 37-38.

58. *AM* 72 (1957) p. 47.

59. The collection of about seventy bronze figurines, apparently consisting only of cattle and horses, found at Poseidon's sanctuary at Tainairon, is consistent with the evidence of Penteskouphia and Kalauria (*Bdl*, 1857, p. 155. *Cf* Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. III. p. 397).

60. The statement can only be tentative, because of the imprecision of some reports. The numbers of lead bulls from Artemis Orthia, and the terracottas from Kalydon and Kalapodi, have not been specified.

61. Hogarth. p. 337.

62. B.V. Head. *Catalogue of Greek Coins - Macedonia*. (British Museum) London. 1879. p. 49 no. 55; p. 52 nos. 73-76.

63. See above, note 45.

64. W. Technau. "Die Göttin auf dem Stier" *Jdl* 52 (1937) p. 77, Fig. 2.

65. *Ibid*. p. 99, Fig. 12.

66. Horses, so popular during the Geometric period and later, are extremely rare. At Aphaia's sanctuary one fragmentary Bronze Age terracotta horse was found; whereas cattle of the same period were not only plentiful at Aphaia's sanctuary, but also present at Delphi (in the sanctuaries of Apollo, and of Athena), Kalapodi, and Knossos. Engraved gems depicting bulls were found at Artemis Orthia, Poseidon's sanctuary at Sounion, and the Argive Heraion; and the Heraion of Samos produced a bronze Mycenean bull.

67. Pausanias. II.30.3.

68. *BCH* 53 (1929) pp.415 and 427.

69. Pausanias. *Loc. sit.* Antoninus Liberalis. *Metamophoses*. 40. Artemis was directly associated with these two deities in Crete (Callimachus. *Hymn to Artemis*. 190-203).

70. See above, *Introduction*, note 23.

71. Pausanias. X.32.5.

72. Technau (*Op. cit.* p. 95) has argued that both Aphrodite and Demeter, as goddesses associated like Europa with fertility and the earth, might also on occasion be conceived as bull-riding goddesses.

DEER *(See Appendix 8.5)*

A. Literary evidence: the deer and the goddess Artemis

It has been seen that the relationship between an animal and a deity is often complex. The animal may be sacrificed to, or protected by the god. (Thus, the Corcyra figurines show Artemis either grasping the boar by its hind leg, or supporting it by its foreleg.) It may be used as a scourge of humanity, as in the stories of the Kalydonian boar, and the bull of Marathon. Or it may be involved in a metamorphosis, as in the legends of Kallisto and Io; or in the role-playing of the Brauronian *arktoi*, and the *tauroi* of Ephesos. In such myths and rituals the animal and the deity, or the servants of the deity, seem almost to share an identity. In terms of this complexity, the deer is no exception.

(i) The deer as a hunted animal

The deer was a natural victim of the goddess of hunting, who as early as Homer was characterized by her delight in the pursuit of boars and swift deer[1]. This trait continued to appear in descriptions of Artemis[2], as it did also in pictorial representations of the goddess, in which the stag, doe or fawn became almost as inalienable an attribute as the bow, arrow or quiver[3]. It is a trait which was also reflected in the title of Elaphebolos[4] which was accorded to her at Hyampolis and elsewhere, and was not shared by any other deity. It was therefore natural for a hunter to dedicate part of his quarry to Artemis. One of the Dedicatory Epigrams describes how Lykormas hung up a deer's skin and horns in a sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera[5]; and Diodorus refers to the traditional practice of hanging the heads and feet of deer on trees,

which was observed by hunters in Sicily[6]. To some extent Apollo was associated with his sister in hunting. He also delighted in arrows, and was a slayer of wild beasts[7]; and in another of the Dedicatory Epigrams, it is he who receives three deer-heads, with their antlers, from the hunter[8]. Even his statues might have the attribute of a deer, like the bronze Apollo which Pausanias saw at Delphi[9]; and that made by the classical sculptor Cephisodotus at Didyma, which Pliny described[10]. Possibly these statues reflect Apollo's support of Artemis against Herakles in the story of the Cerynitian hind.

(ii) Deer in sanctuaries as victim, and as protected animal

Deer were not only dedicated as the spoil of the hunter. They might also be brought living to be sacrificed in the sanctuaries of the gods. When Iphigeneia was about to be sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis, her place at the altar was taken at the last moment by a hind[11]; and at Patras, deer and gazelles were among the game-animals thrown onto Artemis Laphria's bonfire[12]. The practice of offering "elaphoi", cakes made in the shape of deer, at the festival of Artemis Elaphebolos, must have been a substitute for real victims[13].

Yet Artemis, to whom deer might be sacrificed, was also their protectress. It was the shooting of one of the herd of deer kept in her sacred grove at Aulis, which first roused the goddess' anger against Agamemnon, and led to Iphigeneia's fate[14]. When Herakles endangered the life of the Cerynitian hind in his pursuit of it, he was rebuked by Artemis[15]; and although the deer and gazelles kept in her sacred precinct at Skillous were hunted during the festival, they too were regarded as sacred to the goddess[16]. In the sanctuary of Artemis on the island of Ikarus near the Euphrates mouth, deer grazed unmolested;

and no-one was permitted to hunt then except as a sacrifice to the deity[17]; and in Artemis Agrotera's shrine, as described by Philostratus, tame fawns also grazed[18]. Pausanias noted the presence of a holy deer, with a collar round its neck, in Despoina's sanctuary at Lykosoura; and although Despoina, closely associated in Arcadia with Artemis (since both were regarded as Demeter's children) might have been a suitable enough protectress for the animal, Artemis was also worshipped in the same precinct, and formed part of its cult-statue group[19]. Even at the Laphrian feast, when so many wild animals were sacrificed on the fire, deer were also kept for a less deadly role; for in the ceremonial procession, a virgin priestess, enacting the goddess, rode in a chariot drawn by yoked deer[20]. This custom was evidently not restricted to Patras, for the concept, at least, was known elsewhere, and at least as early as the classical period; since Artemis' deer-chariot forms part of the fifth century interior frieze of the temple at Bassai - and here
17 her brother Apollo also rides in it[21].

(iii) Punishment and metamorphosis

Such a timid and gentle animal as the deer seems an unlikely instrument of doom for human beings, yet Artemis also put it to this use at Saronis and at Stymphalos. At both these places (where Artemis had sanctuaries) huntsmen were lured by a fugitive deer to their deaths through drowning[22]; and at Stymphalos this fate was regarded as a punishment for negligence in Artemis' worship. S. Wide interprets the Saron myth as a metamorphosis[23], and believes that the deer was the goddess herself. Frazer's opinion that when a god becomes anthropomorphic, the animal whose shape he or she once had, becomes instead a sacrificial victim[24], is as applicable to deer as to pigs; and the

sacrifice of deer to Artemis is consistent with the possibility that she might on occasion have been worshipped as a deer. The Saron story does not refer explicitly to a divine metamorphosis, but there is such a myth concerning the death of Otus and Ephialtes. These young men had attempted to ravish her, and to bring about their punishment, Artemis changed herself into a deer. Seeing the deer between them, they both shot at it, and so killed each other[25]. In the story of Actaeon, however, it was the victim and not the deity, who assumed the deer's shape[26]. But Artemis also transformed her friend Taygeta into a deer, to save her from Zeus' pursuit; and Taygeta, a wild mountain nymph, is a version of Artemis herself. When Taygeta resumed her human form, she gave to the goddess a deer with golden horns, the same animal that Herakles later captured[27]. A similar story is told of the daughter of King Merops[28]. Iphigeneia's substitution at the sacrificial altar is also close to a transformation-myth; and Cook has suggested that a Red-Figure crater, depicting a draped female wearing a stag's mask and facing a youth with a knife, may be a representation of Iphigeneia, or of some cult associated with her[29]. The wearing of an animal's skin to some degree identifies the wearer with the animal (as Herakles is identified with the lion); so the deer-skin sometimes worn by Artemis (as in her cult-statue at Lykosoura[30]) lends some probability to the theory of her deer's shape.

(iv) Deer-derived titles

The epithet *Elaphebolos* expresses Artemis' character as a huntress; but her identification with the deer itself is no doubt reflected in her title of *Elaphia*[31]. Pausanias supposed that the Eleans gave this name to Artemis because of deer-hunting; but he also notes that the local

explanation was that Artemis was reared by a woman called Elaphius (which Peter Levi translated as "deer-girl")[32]; and this sounds more like the memory of a zoomorphic cult.

Dionysos, as a nature-god, had links with more than one wild animal in which Artemis had an interest[33]. He is the only other deity to be invoked by titles associated with deer, although in his case they derive from the fawn, and not the full-grown animal. Nonnus pictured him as a fawn-slayer (Nebrophonos), hunting by night with Artemis Elaphebolos[34]. But unlike Artemis he is not generally regarded as a hunting god. He is seen rather as sharing in the wildness of the animal by wearing its skin (as indeed Artemis did), and is called *nebrodeas* (fawn-like), *nebridopeplos* and *nebridostolos* (clothed in a fawn-skin)[35].

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Evidence of sacrifice and hunter's dedications

The custom of sacrificing deer to Artemis, or of offering her the remains of an animal killed in the hunt, is known from literary dedications, legend,and accounts like that of Pausanias' description of the Laphrian cult. Few physical traces of the animal have come to light in the sanctuaries considered here. But the bones of two deer (and one gazelle) discovered by the altar of the Ephesian Artemision is consistent both with the literary evidence of general sacrificial custom, and with indications on Ephesian coins that the deer was of particular importance in the city's cult of Artemis[36]. The presence of antlers at Lousoi and Kalydon (at both of which sanctuaries boars' tusks were also discovered) confirms that the tropies of the hunt were dedicated to the goddess of hunting. Yet Artemis was not the only deity to receive

such offerings: a very few deer-bones were found at Demeter's sanctuary at Knossos; and also at Lindos, where they must have been consumed (though not sacrificed) inside Athena's precinct[37]. The presence of a single antler at Tegea is not inconsistent with the numerous fragments of boars' tusks discovered there; for Athena Alea's sanctuary, it has been suggested, was frequented by hunters, possibly because of its association with Atalanta and the Kalydonian boar[38].

Pictorial evidence dedicated in sanctuaries of the sacrifice of deer seems even rarer than their physical remains. But the fragment of one fourth century marble relief, showing a boy bringing a doe to the altar, was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Locheia in Delos. This at least is a confirmation of the sacrificial practice, and of its special importance in Artemis' cult. The sanctuary is located on Mt. Cynthos, where the goddess was reputed to have hunted in her early days [39].

(ii) Evidence of protection

But reliefs in which the deer appears as Artemis' sacrificial victim are greatly outnumbered by artefacts also dedicated in sanctuaries, where it is seen as her favoured companion. In another fourth century marble relief, found at Brauron, it stands beside her throne. A sixth century terracotta plaque from the same sanctuary depicts a very similar scene; while in another, a doe runs beside her. But more numerous than marble reliefs or painted plaques are the terracotta figurines representing the goddess (usually identified by her quiver) either clasping a fawn in her arms, or accompanied by a stag or doe at her feet. More than 300 such figurines, believed by Lechat to be early classical in date [40], were discovered at Kanoni in Corcyra. No other sanctuary

has yielded so many figurines of this type, but in smaller numbers they have been found at Brauron, Kalydon, Lousoi, Scala Greca in Sicily, Knossos, Kirrha, Corinth, and possibly the Acropolis of Athens[41]. Of these nine sanctuaries, five belonged to Artemis; at Kirrha[42] and possibly at Corinth[43], she was worshipped with Apollo; she had a precinct on the Athenian Acropolis; and only at Demeter's sanctuary at Knossos is it rather surprising that an image of deer-protecting Artemis should have been found. Representations of the goddess with deer, were thus dedicated almost exclusively in sanctuaries where a cult of Artemis was practised, and in the Ephesian Artemision the *motif* appeared in relief on one of the fourth century column-pedestals. Not only do these images demonstrate her protective relationship with the animal (as many ancient works of art do) but they also show that worshippers believed such representations to be appropriate offerings in her sanctuaries. Moreover, they may reflect the practice of keeping live deer, sacred to the goddess, in those sanctuaries.

The deer-chariot driven by Artemis or her priestess, too, appears to have left its mark on dedications in at least one sanctuary of the goddess. Two of the Corcyra figurines (and fragments of about ten more) represent her with a pair of does (accompanied by two panthers)
19 in relief against her skirt; and this was convincingly interpreted by Lechat as a chariot drawn by the strangely matched beasts. But Lilly Kahil has also suggested that an incomplete marble relief of the fourth century, from Brauron, might have depicted a similar *motif*[44].

(iii) *Representations of separate deer in sanctuaries*

In the representations of deer discussed so far, the animal is seen in conjunction with a deity, and in every case this deity is Artemis.

Nearly all these representations, moreover, were dedicated in sanctuaries in which Artemis was worshipped. So far, at least, the special association between the goddess and the deer which is expressed in literature, is reflected in some types of images which were dedicated in her sanctuaries. But the presence in sanctuaries of independent representations of the animal has yet to be considered. How far, it must now be asked, is their distribution consistent with the special relationship between Artemis and the deer?

Of the sanctuaries of Artemis considered here (including her altar at Olympia, and also Kirrha, Pherai and Kalapodi) thirteen have yielded representations of deer, mostly figurines. Deer were also present at five sanctuaries of Apollo; five sanctuaries of Athena; four sanctuaries of Hera; and two out of the three sanctuaries of Zeus examined. At none of the sanctuaries belonging to Demeter or Poseidon, apparently, have they been discovered (except for a seal representing a deer from Demeter's sanctuary at Cyrene). The greatest number of deer reported were found in Artemis' sanctuaries, for in addition to the nineteen specified in archaeological reports, "numerous" terracotta deer were also found at Kalydon, and a large number of lead figurines (including twenty different types) in Artemis Orthia's precinct. Hera was the recipient of sixteen deer-representations, and (at Perachora) fifteen paste scarabs decorated with gazelles; and Apollo, Athena and Zeus (or perhaps other deities worshipped at Olympia) of twelve or thirteen each. The only two sanctuaries where figurines of deer were found in large numbers belonged to Artemis. Nevertheless, it is evident that she was by no means the only deity for whom they were considered appropriate dedications; and not all of her sanctuaries have yielded examples.

(iv) *The chronology of deer-representations, and of the goddess with a deer*

The explanation for the presence of deer-representations in the sanctuaries of deities other than Artemis may in part be related to their chronology. The terracotta figurines of Artemis with her deer first made their appearance in the Late Archaic period; and among the earliest representations of goddess and animal (during historic times) are the sixth century terracotta plaques from Brauron. But many of the independent representations of deer are of earlier date. In particular, most of the bronze figurines, and several engravings on ivory or gems, belong to the Geometric period. In the *Odyssey* and the *Homeric Hymn*, Artemis was already acknowledged as a huntress of deer; but there is no evidence that the other facets of their special relationship had yet developed, still less become part of religious belief or cult-practice. At this early time, when hunting, like the keeping of herds, was an important means of subsistence for many, almost any god might be offered in gratitude a model of the hunter's quarry.

The concept of the goddess with the deer was not in itself an innovation of the Late Archaic period. The *potnia theron* of prehistoric Crete had herself been associated with deer-hunting: one engraved Mycenean gold bead-seal shows her aiming an arrow at an antlered stag[45]. And at least by the eighth century, the concept had reappeared in the Greek world as a pictorial *motif*: a cut-out ivory plaque from Smyrna depicts a winged goddess holding a water-bird and a small deer by their necks[46]. The *potnia* flanked by lions on the Boeotian relief *pithos* hovers just above a double frieze of stags and does[47]; and a frieze of deer also forms part of the limestone reliefs decorating Temple A at Prinias, where the principal feature is a double *potnia theron*[48].

But we have no grounds for supposing that any of these early representations of goddesses is to be identified with Artemis. On the contrary, we have seen that she was not the only heir of the *potnia theron*; and the dedication of deer-figurines not only to Artemis but to other goddesses during the Geometric period is thus hardly surprising. At the Delian Artemision there is even some indication of the continuing importance of the deer from the Bronze Age to historic times. A Mycenean *lapis lazuli* pendant or seal is engraved with a deer; and an Archaic bronze deer-figurine was also discovered in the sanctuary. The excavators of Kalapodi note that the small deer crowning a bronze Geometric wheel-pendant was a suitable offering for Artemis Elaphebolos[49]. No doubt they are right; but similar bronze Geometric figurines were also felt by their dedicators to be suitable for Hera, Athena, Apollo, and for at least one deity at Olympia who could, but need not have been, Artemis.

At some point during the Archaic period, however, the association of Artemis with the deer became more exclusive. Terracotta deer are less common and of later date than the bronze figurines; and apart from two couchant does from the Heraion of Delos, they have been reported only at Kalydon, and at Artemis' altar at Olympia, where their exact numbers have not been supplied[50]. But it is the lead figurines of deer from Artemis Orthia which provide the clearest index of Artemis' appropriation of the animal. At this sanctuary, one bronze Geometric fawn was discovered; the *intaglio* on a Mycenean carnelian consisted of a deer and a tree, and two eighth century stone scaraboids are also decorated with a deer-*motif*. Representations of deer were thus evidently thought quite suitable for Orthia from the earliest times. But by far the greatest quantity of deer are made of lead; and although lead figurines began to be dedicated at the end of the eighth century[51], the

deer did not make its appearance in this material till the sixth century, when it became popular at once[52]. After 500 BC, the only lead animal apart from the deer was the cock; and after 425 BC the deer alone survived, and in considerable numbers. It was probably after 600 BC that Orthia began to merge with Artemis at the sanctuary[53]; and it was also after this date that Artemis' special association with the deer was established in the Greek world. In the Geometric period, when many of the deer found in the sanctuaries of other deities were dedicated, the relationship had not yet become so exclusive.

C. Conclusion

Literary evidence has shown that the association of the deer with Artemis was closer and more complex than that of deity and sacrificial victim, or even of huntress and quarry, although it comprises both these elements. It involves other aspects of cult-practice, such as the use of deer as draught-animals in sacred processions, and the keeping of them in sanctuaries. The closeness of this relationship between goddess and animal may have found expression in legends of metamorphosis, in which Artemis and the deer play a prominent part. Literature does not reveal a similar relationship between other deities and this animal; although it appears that Apollo, who like his sister was a far-shooting deity, might sometimes be represented with a deer. It is possible that the creature was felt to embody certain qualities of its patron-goddess, such as wildness and fleetness of foot[54], which belonged to her rather than to other deities; so that the association rested partly on similarity.

Representations of deer discovered in sanctuaries do not entirely conform in their distribution to the picture of an almost exclusive

relationship, as it is seen in literature. Deer were represented in Bronze Age art, where as Cook has suggested, they may sometimes have had a religious significance. No doubt hunting, like other human activities whose ultimate motive was survival, required the benevolence of divine beings. Thus in the Geometric and early Archaic periods images of deer were dedicated (perhaps by hunters) in the sanctuaries of a variety of deities (including Artemis or her predecessors) who were heirs to a Mycenean tradition. Later, the deer came to be regarded as sacred to Artemis alone, perhaps because her role as goddess of hunting became more central to her character; or perhaps simply in accord with a tendency for certain attributes to become more exclusively the property of specific deities. As the legends embodying this relationship became widely known, so representations of the goddess accompanied by the deer began to be dedicated in sanctuaries such as Kanoni and Brauron. After the Archaic period, representations of independent deer, unaccompanied by Artemis, became rarer; and although they are not unknown in the sanctuaries of other gods, the majority have been found in those of Artemis. Thus the distribution of deer-representations in sanctuaries is to be seen in terms of a chronological development. At first, the images were dedicated to a number of gods (though not generally it seems, to Demeter or Poseidon). But at some time during the Archaic period, when the deer became almost exclusively Artemis' attribute, representations of deer began to be dedicated principally to her.

Footnotes

1. *Odyssey*. VI.102-104. *Cf Homeric Hymns*. XXVII.6-10.
2. For example, Callimachus. *Hymn to Artemis*. 94-109.

3. For example, a *krateriskos* fragment published by Lilly Kahil. (*AntK* 20 (1977) p. 92, Pl. 20).

4. *Homeric Hymns*. XXVII.2; Anacreon, Fragment 1; *Orphic Hymns*. 36.10; Sophodes. *Trachiniae*. 213; Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. 1113 ("Elaphoktonos"); Artemidorus. *Oneirocriticon*. II.35 (p. 132); Plutarch. *Moralia*. 244 c-e; 660 d; Nonnus. *Dionysiaca*. XLIV. 197-8.

5. *API* VI.111.

6. Diodorus. IV.22 (268).

7. *API* IX.525.3-14.

8. *API* VI.112.

9. Pausanias. X.13.3.

10. Pliny. *Natural History*. XXXIV.75.

11. Pausanias. IX.19.5.

12. *Ibid*. VII.18.7.

13. Athenaeus 646 e; Bekker. *Anecdota Graeca*. I. p. 249.7.

14. Sophocles. *Electra*. 566-572.

15. Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. II.5.3.

16. Xenophon. *Anabasis*. V.3.9-10.

17. Arrian. *Anabasis*. VII.20.4.

18. *Imagines*. I.28.6.

19. Pausanias. VIII.10.10.

20. *Ibid*. VII.18.7.

21. G.M.A. Richter. *Animals in Greek Sculpture*. Oxford 1930. Fig. 146; S. Reinach. *Répertoire de Reliefs Grècs et Romains*. Paris 1909. p. 223.2. A large Roman relief from Ephesos (not from the Artemision) shows Artemis in a chariot drawn by does. *Ibid*. p. 143.

22. Pausanias. II.30.7; VIII.22.9.

23. S. Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. Stuttgart 1973. p. 127.

24. J.G. Frazer. *The Golden Bough*. London 1890. Vol. II, pp. 44-46.

25. Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. I.7.4.

26. *Ibid*. III.4.4; Diodorus. IV.81.5.

27. *Scholia in Pindarem. Olympian*. III.53.

28. Euripides. *Helen*. 381-383.

29. *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 135.

30. Pausanias. VIII.37.4. Xenophon of Ephesos' heroine Antheia, who walked in the sacred procession to the Artemision dressed as the goddess, wore a fawn-skin (Xenophon of Ephesos. *Habrocomes and Antheia*. I.2.5-7). Dedicated representations of Artemis wearing a deer-skin are not very widely known; but several terracottas offered to Artemis Orthia during the Roman period show her in this dress (*AO* p. 161).

31. Strabo (343) refers to an animal festival of this goddess at Olympia.

32. Pausanias. VI.22.11 (Penguin edition. Vol. II, p. 355).

33. See Cattle, p. 83.

34. *Dionysiaca*. XLIV. 197-8.

35. *Orphic Hymns*. 52.10; *API* IX.525.14. *Cf* Nonnus. *Dionysiaca*. XXVI.28.

36. There are coins of the third century BC which show Artemis' head on the obverse, and the forepart of a stag on the reverse side. (B.V. Head. *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Ionia*. (British Museum) London 1892. pp. 57-60, Pl. 10.8; Pl. 11.1-3.) Electrum coins of the sixth century or earlier, which are probably Ephesian, showed the forepart of the stag, but not the goddess (*Ibid*. p. 47, Pl. 3.11). *Cf* Xenophon of Ephesos' account of the procession in which a girl dressed like Artemis the huntress carried a bow and arrows. See above, note 30.

37. See Cattle, p. 86.

38. See Boars, p. 77.

39. Callimachus. *Hymn to Apollo*. 60-61. A fifth century dedicatory
11 marble relief from Aegina also shows the sacrifice of a deer to Artemis (*AE* 1901 pp. 113-120, Pl. 6).

40. *BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 94-95. Lilly Kahil places them between the end of the sixth, and the middle of the fifth centuries. *Lexlc* II.1. p. 743.

41. Dorothea Brooke believed that the animals held by four late Archaic female figurines from the Acropolis are not fawns but kids. The sanctuary of Aetolian Korai (where the deities worshipped have not been identified with certainty) also produced terracottas of this kind; and it is probable that Artemis and her nymphs had a cult there (K.A. Romaios. "Korai tis Aitolias" *ADelt* 6 (1920-21) p. 69, Fig. 4).

42. Pausanias. X.37.6.

43. Apollo's temple had two chambers, apart from the *pronaos* and *opisthodomos*, and it has been suggested by J.B. Bury that Artemis may have been worshipped in the second (*History of Greece*. London 1900. p. 152).

44. Lilly Kahil. *XI International Congress*. p. 78, Pl. 32.a.

45. *JHS* 45 (1925) p. 21, Fig. 24 (Evans identifies the deity as Artemis, Britomartis, or Diktynna).

46. *AM* 50 (1925) pp. 162-3, Pl. 7.

47. *Ibid*. p. 161, Fig. 2.

48. *ASAtene* 1 (1914) pp. 19-111, Fig. 21.c.3.

49. *AA* 95 (1980) p. 59.

50. The "doe" from Aphaia's sanctuary cannot be identified with complete certainty.

51. *AO* p. 251.

52. *Ibid*. p. 277.

53. *Ibid*. pp. 282-3. It must be said, however, that the fragmentary terracotta figurine of a huntress equipped with a bow (a type generally identified as Artemis) was dedicated at this sanctuary during the seventh century; which suggests that Orthia was then already regarded as an Artemis-like deity (p. 158, Pl. 42.2).

54. See *RE* 8.2 (1913) 1946.

DOGS (*see Appendix 8.6*)

A. Literary evidence

(i) Artemis and the dog

When discussing which deities were patrons of certain birds and animals, Plutarch observed that the dog was sacred to Artemis[1]. Certainly, it is an appropriate companion and useful servant for the goddess of hunting, who already in one of the Homeric Hymns is described as cheering on the hounds[2]. Callimachus describes the dogs given to Artemis by Pan, in some detail[3]; and according to Xenophon of Ephesos' account of the sacred procession for the city to the Artemision, dogs took part in it, following a girl who was dressed to look like Artemis the huntress[4]. The goddess presented Cyrene, a hunting nymph like herself, with two hounds[5]; and taught Atalanta (another version of herself) how to handle these living tools of their trade[6]. The Cretan goddess Diktynna, with whom Artemis was identified[7], was known to keep a pack of hounds[8]; and her temple in Crete was appropriately guarded by dogs[9].

In the myth of Actaeon, Artemis used dogs for a more sinister purpose than hunting deer; although it was in a deer's shape that Actaeon was torn to pieces by his own pack. The fate of the deer, and the man alike may be seen to apply to all humanity, for no living creature can escape death, which comes about through the will of the gods. In Actaeon's story, dogs are the agents of Artemis' destructive will; and possibly it is because of their death-dealing capacity that they were also regarded in a more general sense as symbols and concomitants of death[10]. At least from the time of Homer and Hesiod, the underworld was said to be guarded by a hound, the Cerberus whose

fearful power was symbolized by his many heads[11]. (On funerary *stelai*, however, and reliefs dedicated to heroes, the dog is portrayed as a gentler companion of death, often present at the feast of the departed[12].)

(ii) *Hekate and the dog*

Artemis was a goddess of death as well as of hunting, so the dog is appropriate as her attribute in more than one sense. But as a death-symbol it is perhaps associated more often with Hekate, who represents Artemis' darker side, and whose name became one of her titles[13]. Like Artemis at Lykosoura and Eleusis[14], Hekate was a protectress of gates[15], a role in which the dog itself has always served man. But the roles of gate-keeper and death-power are closely connected; in Cerberus, the hound of Hell, they are indeed one and the same[16]. Thus in noting that the dog belonged to Artemis, Plutarch added that as Euripides had said, it was regarded, alternatively, as Hekate's sacred animal. Christou (discussing a fifth century plaque found in a Laconian tomb, on which a female with a dog is represented) believed that the sacred animal of Hekate (or of Artemis Hekate) expressed the goddess' chthonic power[17]. This would explain why Hekate was sometimes portrayed as dog-shaped, or dog-headed[18]. In several of her cult-places (for example at Kolophon in Asia Minor, and in Samothrace) dogs were sacrificed to Hekate or Enodia[19]. In fact the dog was sometimes described as "the Carian sacrifice"[20]; and this is probably connected with the fact that Hekate was originally a deity of Caria, where she had her principal sanctuary at Lagina[21].

But Hekate was also a birth-goddess. In the Orphic hymn composed in her honour, she is addressed as "Kourotrophos"; and when Artemis Hekate is invoked in the chorus of the *Suppliant Women*[22], it is to watch

over women giving birth[23]. In this character she is associated with Iphigeneia, the childbirth deity of Brauron, to whom the garments of women who had perished in giving birth were dedicated[24]. In his description of Megara, Pausanias writes: "I know that Hesiod ... says that Iphigeneia did not die, but by the will of Artemis, is Hekate"[25]. There is some evidence that dogs were sacrificed not only as symbols of death, to Hekate, but also to powers associated with birth. Plutarch relates that the Romans sacrificed a bitch to a goddess they called Geneta Mana, " a spirit concerned with the generation and birth of beings that perish". And he refers to Socrates' saying that a bitch was sacrificed to the Argive Eilioneia (a version of Eileithyia[26]) "by means of the ease with which the bitch brings forth its young"[27]. It may even have been Hecuba's often repeated motherhood that determined the nature of her final metamorphosis.

(iii) *Dog-derived titles*

Polybius records that Apollo was worshipped under the title of Kynneios at Temnos in Asia Minor[28]. Nothing is known about this cult; but since Apollo was sometimes regarded as a hunting-god like his sister, it is likely that he might be associated on occasion with the dog (as he was with its quarry, the deer[29]). The epithet of Skylakitis (protectress of dogs) is applied in the Orphic Hymns to Hekate and to Artemis[30]; and again Nonnus in his *Dionysiaca* uses the adjective Skylakotrophos (nurse or rearer of puppies) to describe both Hekate[31], and Artemis[32], but also Pan (from whom Artemis was fabled to have received her dogs)[33]. Nonnus also calls Hekate Philoskylakos (dog-lover)[34]. The application of such titles to Artemis and Hekate is consistent with the belief that the dog was sacred to both these goddesses;

and they are not inappropriate for Apollo as a hunter, or Pan as a god of wild nature.

A Thessalian dedicatory inscription refers to a goddess called Kynagia, without any other name[35], and Wernicke has suggested that Artemis was the most likely owner of such a title. Considering the importance of the chthonic cult of Hekate/Enodia in Thessaly, and especially at Pherai, it might equally have applied to one of them: and it is Hekate who is said to have been dog-shaped. In any case, neither Hekate (as a goddess of birth and death) nor Enodia can be separated entirely from Artemis, and the title might have belonged to any or all of these deities.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Sacrifice

Non-literary evidence of dog-sacrifice is scanty. The only two sanctuaries among those under examination here, where a small quantity of their bones have been reported, are Ephesos and Knossos. It has been noted that during the feast of Ephesian Artemis, dogs formed part of the procession that went from the city to the sanctuary[36]. The importance of the dog in the Ephesian cult may also be expressed in a Greek gem of the early Imperial period, which depicts the many-
21 breasted Artemis flanked by two bitches[37]. But it is also known that Hekate, who appears in literature as the recipient of dog-sacrifice, had her cult within the Ephesian precinct[38], as she did near the Artemision of Cyrene[39]. It is not known that Hekate had any cult at Knossos, but as an underworld deity she clearly had affinities with Kore[40]; and the presence of images of Hekate in more than one sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may have been an acknowledgement of this affinity with the

underworld goddesses[41]. If the bones of dogs found at Knossos are indeed the remains of burnt offerings, the sacrifice might have been made there for similar reasons.

(ii) *Representations of Artemis and the dog*

It is Hekate, rather than Olympian Artemis, who emerges in literature as the recipient of dogs as burnt offerings. But Artemis' association with the dog as a hunting-companion is also given literary expression; and in a few of her sanctuaries it is clearly acknowledged in iconographical terms. Terracotta figurines of the goddess with a
22 dog at her feet were discovered at the Olympian altar of Artemis, at Scala Greca in Sicily, Aricia beside Lake Nemi in Italy, and at Artemis Orthia. At Scala Greca fragments of about fifty such figurines, dating from the fourth and third centuries are recorded. In general, they are not found at the sanctuaries of other gods; but one exception is Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta, where "several", like the Orthia example of Roman date, have been recorded. It is probable that like the few lead figurines of deer which came to light in this sanctuary[42], they were made for dedication to Artemis, but their availability in Sparta, or some more personal motive on the worshipper's part, caused them to be brought to the nearby shrine of another deity. No terracotta groups of goddess and dog were found among the numerous Kanoni figurines; and one can only conclude that the type had not evolved by the early fifth century. Yet the pictorial concept was not unknown, for at Brauron a terracotta relief of the late sixth century depicts Artemis running
23 beside her dog. A fragmentary marble relief of the following century from Brauron has the same *motif*; and a marble *stele* from the Athenian Acropolis, on which a goddess wearing a deerskin and accompanied by a dog is seen, could also have been dedicated to Artemis Brauronia.

(iii) Hunting motifs in sanctuaries

Apart from the Brauron plaque, representations of the dog as Artemis' attribute date from the Classical or Hellenistic period. But the *motif* of the wild animal hunted by dogs was popular in the art of earlier times, and in the shape both of figurines, and of ornamental engravings, was dedicated in sanctuaries during the Geometric and Archaic periods. Moreover, like the Geometric deer discussed earlier[43], and doubtless for the same reasons, they have been found not only in the sanctuaries of huntresses like Artemis and Aphaia, but also in those of Athena, Hera, Apollo and Zeus. It is not impossible that the
24 Geometric Olympian stags attacked by hounds were dedicated to Artemis, but nor is it necessary, for as we have seen, a hunter might give thanks for his good fortune in any sanctuary. By the fourth century, the relationship of Artemis to hounds and the hunt had become more exclusive, as the terracotta groups show. The fourth-century marble dog's head
25 water-spouts from her temple in the Epidaurian Asklepieion, which are part of a portrayal of boar-hunting in the form of an architectural decoration, also give expression to this relationship. Similar dogs' heads were a feature of the fourth century temple at Kalydon; and a terracotta water-spout, also shaped like a dog's head, discovered in Apollo's sanctuary at Thermon, suggested to the excavators that a temple of Artemis may have stood inside this precinct too. Dating from the early sixth century, it is a much earlier example of the type than the Epidaurus or Kalydon marbles, and may (like the slightly later Brauron plaque) bear witness to the beginning of Artemis' more exclusive association with hunting. The theme of hunting with dogs may also possibly have decorated a pre-Roman temple of the Cretan Artemis Diktynna, whose sanctuary, according to Philostratus, was guarded by

dogs; although, if so, the *motif* gave shape not to water-spouts, but to *akroteria*. No trace of such a temple-decoration has actually survived;
33 but a third-century *stele*, on which the goddess appears as a huntress, also depicts a pediment with *akroteria* consisting of a dog on either side attacking two central goats. If there was such a building in the sanctuary, it need not have been as late as the third century.

(iv) *Separate representations of dogs in sanctuaries*

When the dog is represented with Artemis, it is intended as an attribute of the goddess of hunting; less commonly portrayed than her bow and quiver, but having the same function as a tool of the chase. When found in a sanctuary, this image generally identifies the patron deity as Artemis, and is an appropriate dedication there. But it is by no means certain that representations of the dog without the deity carried the same meaning.

Images of separate dogs as votive offerings have been found at fourteen cult-places of Artemis out of the thirty or so examined in this study. They have in addition been found at Olympia (where she was worshipped at other altars than the one identified as her-s by excavation), and on the Athenian Acropolis (which contained the city-sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia). Out of the fifty sanctuaries of other deities considered here, twelve (apart from Olympia and the Acropolis) have yielded dogs. The exact total of all those dedicated is not clear, as some archaeological reports fail to specify numbers; but at least 118 were recovered from the sanctuaries in question. Of these, over half must have belonged to Artemis, since in addition to the fifty-four specified in her sanctuaries, unknown quantities came to light at Kalydon and her Olympian altar, and those offered to Artemis Knakeatis were

especially numerous. Any or all of the five representations of dogs recorded on the Acropolis of Athens could also have been dedicated to Artemis. At Artemis Orthia, where twenty-eight of the 160 Late Geometric and Archaic ivory couchant animals are dogs, they were the second most common ivory animal found; and although conspicuously absent in lead, were also found in a variety of other materials, including a Mycenean steatite seal. Eighteen representations of dogs were discovered in sanctuaries of Hera (mostly at Perachora); at least twelve in those of Athena (not including the Acropolis); at least ten in Apollo's (if the dog's head water-spout from Thermon is included); and thirteen in sanctuaries of Zeus, all of them but one from Olympia, where two early terracottas portraying Cerberus, the dog of the underworld, also came to light. A single terracotta dog was found in Demeter's sanctuary at Souvala. The distribution of these votives indicate that although independent dogs were not exclusively dedicated to Artemis, they are much more likely to be found in her sanctuaries than in those of other deities.

(v) The dog and the Epidaurian deities

One of the sanctuaries not belonging to Artemis where representations of dogs were dedicated, is the hill-top site of Apollo Maleatas. Terracotta dogs (which have not been enumerated), and a fifth century bronze dog which was part of a mirror, were discovered here. This shrine of Apollo overlooked the later Asklepieion of Epidaurus; and although the dedications made to Asklepios do not form part of this study, it may be said that at least one marble relief on which a dog is represented was offered to the god[44] (whose chryselephantine statue also had a dog as attribute[45]). But Apollo (to whom the epithet of Kynneios is

known to have been applied) was at Epidaurus before Asklepios[46]; and it may be significant that the hill where he was worshipped with the title of Maleatas was called Kynortion[47]. The god Maleatas occupied the hill-top before Apollo, and Nilsson believed he was a deity to whom dogs were sacred[48]. But as a number of figurines and other objects show, Mt. Kynortion was also a Mycenean cult-place[49]. A female deity was in all probability worshipped there either before Maleatas, or if he were her consort, at the same time. I believe there is reason to suppose that a goddess continued to be worshipped there with Apollo, and that she was Artemis. Most of the considerable number of terracotta figurines, even after the Bronze Age, represent females; and at least two of them have quiver-band and bow, and must therefore represent Artemis[50]. In the decoration of her temple in the Asklepieion, dogs continued to be associated with Artemis, though now apparently (as at Kalydon) in the role of hunting-animals, pursuing the wild boar. Cavvadias, however, discussing the temple water-spouts, notes that the dog was specially an attribute of Artemis Hekate[51]. And between the temples of Asklepios and Artemis, a marble statuette of the triple Hekate was found, inscribed to Artemis Hekate[52]; while two inscriptions to Artemis Enodia from the sanctuary also closely link the goddess with Hekate[53]. It seems that the Artemis of the Asklepieion was a chthonian deity, and that here the dogs of her temple, and of Mt. Kynortion may (like the living animals kept in the *hieron*[54]) have had a significance beyond the sphere of hunting, and embodied powers of life and death.

(vi) *The dog and goddesses of birth*

The *motif* of the running goddess with the dog on the plaque from the Laconian tomb (identified by Christou as Artemis Hekate) bears some

resemblance to that on the earlier terracotta plaque from Brauron. Could the Brauron plaque and the later marble relief from the same sanctuary then also represent Artemis as Hekate, goddess of the underworld, rather than as goddess of hunting? Though not found in a tomb, they came from a sanctuary associated with women who had died in childbirth. And as at Epidaurus, so at Brauron a marble Hekate (with a large torch) has come to light[55]. Another of the marble votive reliefs from this sanctuary shows Artemis herself carrying a torch[56]; and Professor Kahil has suggested that in another, a female figure who may also have carried a torch (though it is missing) was Iphigeneia[57], (identified with Hekate by a writer as early as Hesiod). The object carried by the goddess of the terracotta plaque is hard to identify: it could be a weapon, but it might also be a torch. The goddess of the plaque could equally be Artemis the huntress, or Hekate the Queen of death.

But Iphigeneia, close as she was both to Artemis and Hekate, was primarily a birth-goddess; and the marble statuettes of small boys dedicated at the sanctuary were evidently thank-offerings for a happier outcome of childbirth than the mother's death. It has been observed that dogs were sacrificed to powers associated with birth; and it may have been in connection with this rite that a dog (one of the few terracotta animals on display in the museum) was dedicated in the sanctuary at Brauron. There is also a marble dog which may have been part of a group consisting of boy and dog (for among the marble statuettes there is a small boy with his dog). The animal is a natural enough pet and companion for a child; but it is at least possible (in view of literary evidence) that at Brauron it might also have been regarded as a symbol of birth. The *motif* of boy and dog is also found at Lindos

(where in addition, independent terracotta dogs have been found); and Athena Lindia, too, was a fertility goddess to whom *kourotrophos* - figurines of mother and child were dedicated, as they were at Brauron[58].

Other sanctuaries which have yielded both *kourotrophoi* and representations of dogs are Kalydon, Ephesos, Artemis Orthia, Aricia, the Argive Heraion, Perachora, Samos and Souvala[59]. If the dog-representations offered to those goddesses not primarily regarded as patrons of hunting had any significance as dedications, I suggest that it may lie in the association of the animal with "the birth of beings that perish". Most female deities, including Hekate herself, were invoked for their aid in the achievement of birth. But the goddess wholly concerned with birth was Eileithyia, who had a cult at Olympia[60]; and in the Altis, where dog-representations were offered at the altar of Artemis, twelve much earlier figurines were discovered in other parts of the sanctuary. These may refer to hunting (like the bronze deer attacked by hounds) or to the defence of herds[61]. But it is known that bitches were sacrificed to Argive Eileithyia; and it is not impossible that at Olympia, too, some of the dogs were associated with birth. The *cerberi* dedicated at Olympia during the same early period certainly suggest an awareness of the wider symbolic connotations of the dog's image.

C. Conclusion

It is evident that the dog was more closely connected with Artemis than with other Olympian deities: at Antikyra and Lykosoura, according to Pausanias, it appeared as an attribute of Praxiteles' and Damophon's cult-statues[62]; and representations of it have been discovered more frequently in her sanctuaries than in those of others. This is no

doubt due to Artemis' role as goddess of hunting - a role which is reflected both in the cult-statues described by Pausanias, and in the surviving terracotta figurines where she carries a bow and quiver, and is accompanied by a dog. But Artemis is also a goddess of birth and death, and the dog is a chthonic symbol as well as a hunting-animal. Indeed, the two spheres are neither literally or symbolically quite distinct: the Antikyra and Lykosoura statues carried an under-world torch, as well as a hunting quiver. At Artemis Orthia's sanctuary the supernatural other-worldly power of the dog engraved on an ivory comb is expressed by its wings. As a symbol of death and of birth, the dog was associated in particular with Hekate, but also with such deities as Eilioneia of Argos, and the Epidaurian gods. As far as I know, it is not represented as an attribute of the Bronze Age *potnia theron*; although there are examples of Archaic goddesses flanked by a pair of dogs[63]. But all these powers inherited characteristics of the older *potnia theron*; and among the Olympian goddesses not only Artemis but also Demeter, Hera and Athena (especially at Lindos) were her heirs, and could be worshipped as deities concerned with birth and death. I believe that it is because they were sometimes regarded as chthonic symbols that dogs are to be found in the sanctuaries of these goddesses, as well as in those of Artemis.

Footnotes

1. *Moralia*. 379 D.
2. *Homeric Hymns*. XXVII. 1.
3. Callimachus. *Hymn to Artemis*. 90-97.
4. Xenophon of Ephesos. *Habrocomes and Antheia*. I. 2.6-7.
5. Callimachus. *Op. cit.* 206-7.
6. *Ibid*. 215-217.
7. See below, "Fish", p. 131.
8. Aristophanes. *Frogs*. 1360.

9. Philostratus. *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. VIII. 30.

10. C. Vermeule. "Greek funerary animals 450-300 BC". *AJA* 76 (1972) pp. 49-59. *cf.* M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*. p. 396.

11. Homer gives him no name and no extra heads (*Iliad* VIII. 368; *Odyssey* XI. 623); but Hesiod calls him "savage Cerberus, the fifty-headed bronze-voiced dog of Hades". (*Theogony*. 311). Later he was generally credited with three heads (Pausanias. III. 25.6).

12. Rouse. p. 5.

13. For example, in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* (674).

14. Pausanias. VIII. 37. 1-6; I. 38.6.

15. As at the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens (*Ibid*. II. 30.2).

16. In Thessaly, Hekate was worshipped under the name of Enodia (Theodore Kraus, *Hekate*. pp. 77-82). There is some epigraphical evidence that the sanctuary outside the walls of Pherai, which was established over a Geometric cemetery, belonged to this deity (see *Introduction*. Note 8).

17. C. Christou. "Artemis Hekate" (*AE* 1953-4. Part III. pp. 188-200).

18. See Hesychius' gloss on "Hekatis Agalma"; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*. 336.31; Nilsson, *Op. cit*. p. 396, note 2. Hecuba, sometimes equated with Hekate as a death-goddess was finally transformed into a bitch. Euripides, *Hecuba*. 1265; Apollodorus, *Epitome*. V.24; Dio Chrysostom, 35.39; *RE* 8.2 (1913) 2578-9.

19. Pausanias III. 14.9; Plutarch, *Moralia*. 277B and 280C; Aristophanes, *Scholia in Pacem*. 277; Bekker, *Op. cit*. 327.13; 336.31.

20. G.E. Bean. *Turkey beyond the Maeander*. London 1971 p. 94.

21. *Ibid*. pp. 94-98; Nilsson *Op. cit*. pp. 397 and 401; Kraus *Op. cit*. p. 20.

22. See note 13.

23. On the eastern part of the frieze of Hekate's temple at Lagina, she appears as an assistant at the birth of Zeus, carrying the stone to offer in his place to Cronos (Bean, *Op. cit*. p. 97; Newton, *History*. II Pl. 79). The sanctuary of Kalliste, near the Kerameikos cemetery of Athens, moreover, where the votive offerings show the deity to be a childbirth goddess, is mentioned by Hesychius (in his gloss on the word) as being sacred either to Hekate, or to Artemis. (See above, "Bears", p.21 and Note 16). In one marble relief found in this sanctuary a married couple approach a goddess carrying a torch - a *motif* which may refer both to death, and to human fertility. (*BCH* 51 (1927) p. 158, Pl. 8, and pp. 164-169.)

24. Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. 1464-1467.

25. Pausanias. I. 43.1.

26. See *RE* 5 (1905) 2112.

27. Plutarch. *Moralia*. 277 B (Loeb, *Moralia*. Vol. IV. p. 85). Athenaeus' reference to a dog-slaughter at Argos no doubt has something to do with this cult (Athenaeus. 99 E).

28. Polybius. XXXII. 37.12. *cf.* also Hesychius' gloss on the name.

29. See above, "Deer", p. 101.

30. *Orphic Hymns*. I. 5; XXXVI. 12.

31. *Dionysiaca*. XLIV. 195 ("Because the nightly sound of the hurrying dogs is thy delight, with their mournful whimpering").

32. *Ibid*. XLVIII. 15.

33. *Ibid*. XVI. 187.

34. *Ibid*. III. 74-5.

35. *RE* 2 (1896) 1391.

36. See above, p. 115 note 4.

37. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Pl. 44.2.

38. Strabo refers to the Hekatision there (641); and Pliny mentions the statue of Hekate kept behind the great temple (*Natural History*. XXXVI. 4.32).

39. *EAA* Vol. 2. p. 658. Fig. 885 (no. 16).

40. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 25 and 52) she is said to have helped the goddess to search for her daughter.

41. They were found at Pergamon (*AM* 35 (1910) p. 504); Samothrace (*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 775); and Cnidus (base with triangular socket ? for triple Hekate (Newton, *History*. II. pp. 385-6); 1 Roman lamp with Hekate (in short chiton and boots) and dog (*Ibid*. p. 401 Pl. 84.5)).

42. There were fewer than a dozen, in comparison with tens of thousands at Artemis Orthia.

43. See above, pp. 106-108.

44. Rouse, p. 219.

45. Pausanias. II. 27.2. Asklepios, abandoned by his mother in the Epidaurian mountains,was guarded by a shepherd's dog (II. 26.4). According to some versions of the tale, he was even suckled by a bitch (Frazer, *Pausanias' description of Greece*. Vol. III. p. 250).

46. Several inscriptions to Apollo (some with his title of Maleatas) and many to Apollo and Asklepios together, indicate that he continued to be worshipped in the *hieron* after it had become sacred to Asklepios [P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*. Vol. I. p. 53, no. 93; p. 57, nos. 130-131; p. 65, nos. 189 and 191].

47. Pausanias. II. 27.8.

48. *Griechische Feste*. p. 407, note 7.

49. *PAE* 1949, p. 94, Figs. 5 and 6; 1950, p. 199, Figs. 5-7; 1974, p. 100, no. 6; 1975, p. 173.

50. *PAE* 1948, p. 99, Fig. 11; 1975, p. 175, no. 25, Pl. 153c.

51. Cavvadias, *Op. cit.* p. 19.

52. *Ibid.* p. 23, Pl. 9.27; p. 58, no. 141.

53. *Ibid.* p. 52, no. 87; p. 57, no. 126. Enodia was the Thessalian goddess probably worshipped at Pherai; and it is of some interest that near the Asklepieion in Argos the old cult-statue of Pheraian Artemis was reputedly kept (Pausanias. II. 23.5).

54. Rouse, p. 202. The licking of the patient by dogs was regarded as part of his cure.

55. *PAE* 1948, p. 89, Fig. 6; *BCH* 73 (1949), p. 527, Fig. 10.

56. *Ergon*. 1961, Fig. 24; 1962, Fig. 44.

57. *Ergon*. 1958, Fig. 35; Lilly Kahil. *XI International Congress*. p. 78, Pl. 32 a,b.

58. See *Lindos I*: 1864; 2125; 2145; 2226-2230; 2242-4; 2252; 2256-9; 2946-50; 2986-2997. In No. 3048 a pregnant woman is represented. For Brauron, see *PAE* 1959, Pl. 116; for the Acropolis, *Catalogue* II. p. 394.

59.

Kalydon.	1 fragmentary *kourotrophos*; 2 naked pregnant women. Dyggve, p. 348, p. 347, Figs. 316-317.
Ephesos 4th-cBC	6 draped seated females with child. Hogarth, p. 315, Figs. 91-2; *cf.* Higgins I. 551-3; 555-7; 559.
Artemis Orthia 8th or 7th-cBC	1 *kourotrophos*; 1 "pair of birth demons supporting mother and child". *AO* p. 51, Fig. 29.
Aricia	"Many" *kourotrophoi*. MA 13 (1903) p. 347.
Acropolis Hellenistic	3 females with children. *Catalogue* II, p. 394.

45. Pausanias. II. 27.2. Asklepios, abandoned by his mother in the Epidaurian mountains,was guarded by a shepherd's dog (II. 26.4). According to some versions of the tale, he was even suckled by a bitch (Frazer, *Pausanias' description of Greece*. Vol. III. p. 250).

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47. Pausanias. II. 27.8.

48. *Griechische Feste*. p. 407, note 7.

49. *PAE* 1949, p. 94, Figs. 5 and 6; 1950, p. 199, Figs. 5-7; 1974, p. 100, no. 6; 1975, p. 173.

50. *PAE* 1948, p. 99, Fig. 11; 1975, p. 175, no. 25, Pl. 153c.

51. Cavvadias, *Op. cit.* p. 19.

52. *Ibid.* p. 23, Pl. 9.27; p. 58, no. 141.

53. *Ibid.* p. 52, no. 87; p. 57, no. 126. Enodia was the Thessalian goddess probably worshipped at Pherai; and it is of some interest that near the Asklepieion in Argos the old cult-statue of Pheraian Artemis was reputedly kept (Pausanias. II. 23.5).

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56. *Ergon*. 1961, Fig. 24; 1962, Fig. 44.

57. *Ergon*. 1958, Fig. 35; Lilly Kahil. *XI International Congress*. p. 78, Pl. 32 a,b.

58. See *Lindos I*: 1864; 2125; 2145; 2226-2230; 2242-4; 2252; 2256-9; 2946-50; 2986-2997. In No. 3048 a pregnant woman is represented. For Brauron, see *PAE* 1959, Pl. 116; for the Acropolis, *Catalogue* II. p. 394.

59.

Kalydon.	1 fragmentary *kourotrophos*; 2 naked pregnant women. Dyggve, p. 348, p. 347, Figs. 316-317.
Ephesos 4th-cBC	6 draped seated females with child. Hogarth, p. 315, Figs. 91-2; *cf.* Higgins I. 551-3; 555-7; 559.
Artemis Orthia 8th or 7th-cBC	1 *kourotrophos*; 1 "pair of birth demons supporting mother and child". *AO* p. 51, Fig. 29.
Aricia	"Many" *kourotrophoi*. MA 13 (1903) p. 347.
Acropolis Hellenistic	3 females with children. *Catalogue* II, p. 394.

59.	Argive Heraion E. Archaic	19 standing/seated *kourotrophoi*. Waldstein II, p. 19, Pl. 42.11, Fig. 18; p. 21, Pl. 43.4; p. 25, Pl. 44.3, Figs. 37-38. 1 pregnant woman, p. 31, Fig. 52.
	Perachora 6th c BC	1 seated mother and child. *Perachora* I. p. 245, no. 250, Pl. 110.
	Samos Archaic	1 fragmentary Cypriot *kourotrophos*. *Samos* VII. p. 29, Pl. 49.
	Souvala	1 *kourotrophos* (or clothed monkey with young). *ADelt* 27 (1972) B². *Chr*. p. 387, Pl. 324.

60. Pausanias. VI. 20.2-5.

61. *OlForsch*. VII. p. 79.

62. Pausanias. X. 37.1; VIII. 37.4.

63. Christou. *Potnia Theron*. p. 167; L.O.K. Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*. Mainz. 1981, no. 117, Pl. 96.

FISH, DOLPHINS AND OTHER SEA-CREATURES

(*See Appendix 8.7*)

1. FISH

A. Literary evidence

(i) The dedication of real fish

As a hunter would dedicate the deer's antlers or the boar's tusks to the gods, so might a fisherman offer part of his catch. In one of the Dedicatory Epigrams, Menis the net-fisher gives a grilled red mullet and a hake to Artemis Limenitis: "for all nets, gracious goddess, are given to thy keeping"[1]; and according to Athenaeus, the first tunny-fish of the season caught at Halae were offered to Poseidon[2]. Poseidon as god of the sea is the mostly likely object of fishermen's veneration: indeed, the record catch of tunny-fish achieved by the Corcyraeans was seen as the direct result of a sacrifice made to him[3]. But Artemidorus records that Artemis also was helpful to fishers, as she was to hunters; and that while as huntress she bore the title of Agrotera or Elaphebolos, as patron of fishermen she was Artemis Limnatis[4]. He might have added that through her title of Diktynna, as well, Artemis was associated with fishermen and the sea. Diktynna was originally a Cretan deity, a huntress who like Artemis espoused perpetual virginity. To escape Minos' pursuit, she jumped into the sea, and was hidden (or rescued) in the nets of fishermen; her name was believed to derive from δίκτυον (fishing-net, or hunting-net)[5]. She became merged with Artemis, and many of her sanctuaries were situated beside the sea, where it is likely that they were visited by sea-farers and fishermen[6]. Hekate, who was another close associate of Artemis (sharing with her, as we have seen, the attribute of the dog) was believed also (by a writer as early as Hesiod) to grant to fishermen a large catch, if they prayed to her[7].

(ii) Fish as the property of gods

But like deer and other animals, fish could stand in a relationship to the gods other than that of the prize of men, and the tribute paid in return for it. They were sometimes regarded, while still living, as sacred to a deity, and therefore as food forbidden to humans. According to Diodorus Siculus, the fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse was sacred to Artemis, and the large and plentiful fish which it contained were considered untouchable: "and on many occasions, when certain men have eaten them amid stress of war, the deity has shown a striking sign, and has visited with great sufferings such as dared take them for food"[8]. Pausanias describes a shrine of Poseidon at Aigiai in Laconia, situated beside a lake from which men were afraid to take fish in case they should be turned into one[9]. But not only Poseidon and Artemis owned sacred fish: Pausanias tells similar tales of Demeter and Kore in Attica, and Hermes in Achaia[10]; and in Frazer's commentary[11], he quotes ancient sources referring similarly to Apollo in Lycia[12], as well as Poseidon in Leptis[13], and a number of unnamed deities. One of these was a goddess of Smyrna who is identified by Dittenberger[14] as Atargatis, seemingly by analogy with the Syrian fertility-goddess of that name, described by Lucian in *De Syria Dea*[15]. Lucian refers to a lake near her sanctuary in Hieropolis in which fish sacred to this goddess were kept. Evidently the custom was not confined to Greece, and may even have originated in the East.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Fish-representations in sanctuaries: distribution

It remains to consider how far the distribution of fish-representation in sanctuaries is consistent with what literature has to say on the subject of fish and the gods. Artemis is the only deity mentioned in the Dedicatory Epigrams as a recipient of real fish[16]; and the choice of Menis, who presented part of his catch to the goddess, is explicable both in terms of her titles of Limenitis and Limnatis, and in the association of Artemis Diktynna with nets. At the same time, Poseidon was the supreme god of the sea, to whom fishermen naturally paid tribute[17]. It might then be expected that a preponderance of such votives was to be found in the sanctuaries of these two deities, perhaps as substitutes or commemorations of the real thing offered by fishermen; or alternatively in acknowledgement of the sacred fish regarded as their property. To some extent the *data* of the present study fulfil this expectation. The number of lead fish dedicated to Artemis Orthia is not specified; but even if there were only two (the smallest number possible
27 since two "types" are recorded) it would mean that eight representations
40b of fish had been discovered at the sanctuary; and that out of a total of about fifty from all the sanctuaries examined, at least half had been dedicated in those belonging either to Poseidon or to Artemis[18]. Moreover, in all fifteen representations of fish (including two eels and an
28 octopus) from Poseidon sanctuaries, the object, whether *pinax*, bronze figurine, or marble sculpture, existed principally for the sake of what it represented; whereas several of the twenty-two (or twenty-four) fish offered in sanctuaries of Athena, Zeus, Hera and Demeter were decorative engravings on an object like a *fibula*, scarab, gem or lamp which had a separate use - or they gave shape to a plastic vase. The

greatest recorded number of representations from any one of the sanctuaries took the form of *motifs* on eleven painted plaques from Penteskouphia; although it is always possible that the number of lead fish from Artemis Orthia's sanctuary exceeded that number. It may be said that Poseidon and Artemis together claim the majority of these images of fish. The remains of shell-fish in the deposit beneath the East wall of the Archaic Artemision of Delos (which could have been Mycenean or Geometric[19]) may also have been offerings made to a fisherman's goddess of the sea.

Yet the *data* of the study also show that Poseidon and Artemis were not the only deities to receive fish-dedications. Above all, similar images have been found in four sanctuaries of Athena (not including the Athenian Acropolis, or Asea, where Poseidon was also worshipped); and at Lindos they were more numerous than at any other sanctuary, apart from Penteskouphia and (probably) Artemis Orthia. In addition to the representations, bones of large fish were discovered in this sanctuary, which may indicate that they formed part of the sacred meals consumed there. Lindos is also the provenance of a black serpentine scarab, decorated with an engraving in late Geometric style which seems to invest the fish with some divine quality. It depicts a man standing with his hand raised before a large erect fish which as Blinkenberg comments, "appears to be the object of some act of cult", perhaps of adoration[20]. The Lindos engraving, which does not depict this creature as the fisherman's prey, suggests that not all the images of fish found in sanctuaries were intended as substitutes for, or commemoration of a real catch; but may have carried some other meaning, possibly referring to a cult in which fish were regarded as sacred. Five Archaic marine monsters in Cypriot limestone are a further variation on the theme of the sea at Lindos. Yet as far as I know, literature throws no light on any special association of Athena with fish.

(ii) Artemis Orthia

A fish was among the early bronze figurines discovered at Pherai; but only at Artemis Orthia in Spartan Limnai, of all the certainly identified sanctuaries of Artemis, were representations of fish dedicated to this goddess. In this sanctuary they are mostly of early date, including the unspecified number of lead figurines, which belong to the first and second periods, that is the seventh century BC. Several of the ivory couchant animals of the eighth and seventh centuries are decorated with fish in *intaglio* on their bases; and the large ivory plaque of the ship depicts a man fishing with a line from the prow; while three other fish swim beneath the ship. Sparta is far from the sea, but it will be remembered that the sanctuary stood beside the river Eurotas at Limnai; and Artemidorus, we have seen, refers specifically to Artemis Limnatis as a helper of fishermen. The latest of the fish-like images from Artemis Orthia may not be a dedication, and anyway is not a fish. Nevertheless, it may not be irrelevant to the topic, or to the nature of the goddess of Limnai. This was one of the limestone engravings made about the year 600 BC, perhaps for a pastime rather than for dedication, by the builders of the new temple. It shows a female with the tail of a fish. When Pausanias is discussing the identity of Artemis Eurynome, in another riverside Peloponnesian sanctuary some way from the sea (at the junction of the Lymax and Neda just outside Phigalia), he expresses disbelief that this goddess, whose cult-statue was that of a woman with a fish's tail, could have had anything to do with Artemis[21]. But since Diktynna, Artemis' *protegée* and other self, could be caught in fishermen's nets; and since Artemis as Limnatis, a friend to fishermen, was at home in rivers and lakes, Pausanias could have been mistaken. The fish-tailed female of Artemis Orthia, as well

as the representations of fishing and fish, may be an expression of this aspect of Artemis.

(iii) Other deities and fish

It has been seen, however, that fish-representations may be dedicated to other deities than to Poseidon and Artemis. Their presence not only at Lindos, but also at Perachora, Samos, Kato Phana and Sounion (slight though it is in these sanctuaries of Hera, Apollo and Athena) may be explained by the fact that the sanctuaries stood beside the sea, and must have received the veneration of sea-farers and fishermen[22]. But another factor to be remembered is Athena Lindia's character as a fertility-goddess and heir of the *potnia theron*. This is a character which, as we have seen, she shared with Artemis Orthia and with other female deities.

The fish is not commonly an attribute of the *potnia theron*, but it appears on at least three early representations. One, on an ivory plaque from Smyrna, shows the winged goddess holding a deer and a bird; and under her feet are three fish, and what look like waves[23]. The second is on the eighth-century painted Boeotian *amphora*, where the winged goddess is flanked by beasts of prey and water-birds: here the fish appears on her skirt as an embroidered decoration[24]. The third representation is on an early Geometric funerary *pithos* from Knossos, on each side of which is a winged *potnia theron* on a wheeled platform holding two birds, and flanked by trees. On one side of the vase, the trees are flourishing, while on the other they are more lifeless, and one of the birds has slipped from the hand of the goddess; so that the two scenes apparently represent summer and winter, or symbolize life and death. It is underneath the handles of the *pithos* that the

two fish are depicted[25]. The Smyrna ivory could well depict the goddess referred to in the inscription from Smyrna as the owner of sacred fish, and interpreted by Dittenberger as Atargatis; although Kern interprets her as Hekate (as one who is invoked by fishermen)[26]. Christou, commenting on the Boeotian *amphora*, believes that the embroidered fish, like the water-birds, symbolize the goddess' dominion over water[27]. The deity on the Knossian funerary *pithos* is a goddess of vegetation, and also of life and death, so that the fish-*motif* which decorates this vase may carry a chthonic meaning[28]. In any case, the fact that fish could be an attribute (however rarely portrayed) of the *potnia theron* may explain why its image was dedicated not only at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, but also at sanctuaries of Athena, and to a lesser degree, Hera and Demeter. The goddess on the Knossos *pithos* has been likened to Persephone; and it was at Demeter's sanctuary of Knossos that a Minoan gem engraved with fish was discovered. Perhaps this was considered an appropriate offering for Demeter or Persephone in their chthonic aspect. The bones of a fish have also been discovered in the sanctuary.

A few representations of fish have also been found at Olympia, Amyclai, Bassai and Dodona, in sanctuaries of Zeus and Apollo not situated by the sea. But it may be as well to reserve any final assessment of the significance of fish-dedications in sanctuaries until the representations of other sea-creatures, particularly dolphins,and their relationship with Apollo, have been considered.

2. DOLPHINS

A. Literary evidence

(i) The Dolphin and Poseidon

The relationship of dolphins to the gods is different from that of fish, in that they are not the prey or livelihood of men, and can hardly be sacrificed. But they are associated with more than one deity in mythology, art[29] or by title; and above all with Poseidon, who is described by Aristophanes as the ruler of dolphins[30]. In as early a work as the *Odyssey*, his wife Amphitrite appeared as the keeper of herds of dolphins[31]; and the poet Bacchylides relates that when Theseus visited his father's palace under the sea, he was carried there on the backs of these creatures[32]. For although they are not sea-horses, dolphins may be seen as the equivalent of the horse on land, and so, like horses, as fitting attributes of Poseidon. Indeed, they are specifically linked with Poseidon Hippios, and it is no decorative accident that a bronze dolphin should have formed part of the starting-mechanism for the horse-races at Olympia, beside which Poseidon Hippios had an altar[33]. Similarly, it must be because of her association with Poseidon in a horse's shape that the wooden statue of Demeter at Phigalia (itself horse-headed) held a dolphin in one hand[34].

The connection of the dolphin with Poseidon in his Isthmian sanctuary was particularly close, since Palaimon, who shared the sanctuary with him, and to whom the Isthmian Games were dedicated, was originally carried there by a dolphin[35]. The entire Isthmus, so nearly a part of the sea, was considered to belong to Poseidon[36]; and the dolphin (which featured in the decoration of the sanctuary)[37] is essentially, in spite of its affinities with the horse, a sea-creature and a symbol of the god of the sea. Its grace and strength, its mastery over the

element in which it lives, and its occasional benevolent intervention in the lives of men[38], makes it a fitting companion for Poseidon, and an emblem of his dominion over the sea. There is a story (though it has no earlier source than Ovid) that the god once assumed a dolphin's shape in order to make love to Melantho[39].

Several of the monuments visited by Pausanias bore witness in material terms to Poseidon's association with the dolphin. The writer mentions a bronze Poseidon in Corinth, under whose foot a dolphin spouted water[40]; and the cult-statue from the harbour sanctuary at Antikyra also rested one foot on a dolphin[41]. In Poseidon's sanctuary at Tainaron, however, the dolphin is being ridden by Arion, the musician whom it rescued from the sea[42]. But many more of the statues of Poseidon which Pausanias saw must have been possessed of an attendant dolphin: the attribute being probably too characteristic to need much reiteration[43]. At Isthmia, where in the temple Pausanias saw Palaimon on his dolphin, in ivory and gold, there were also representations of more fantastic sea-creatrues: the temple had bronze tritons standing on it; and in the sanctuary was the statue of "a horse like a sea-monster from below the breast"[44].

(ii) Apollo, Artemis and delphinia

In spite of his association with the dolphin, there is no indication in literary or epigraphical sources that Poseidon ever received the title of *delphinios*. This was reserved for Apollo, and occasionally, in its feminine form, for Artemis. For although the sea was not Apollo's home, he crossed it as a traveller and colonist[45], and many of his sanctuaries, especially in harbour towns, were known as *delphinia*. They are attested in Crete, and also in Thera, Aegina, Athens, Oropos,

Kirrha, Miletus and Massalia, and, more surprisingly, in Sparta[46]. From the port of Kirrha, the chief of all the *delphinia* was founded at Pytho, and to this sanctuary is attached the myth which connects Apollo with the dolphin. The story, first told in the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo[47], is that the god changed himself into a dolphin and was carried in a Knossian ship from Crete to Kirrha. When the Cretan travellers had arrived at land, Apollo ordered them to remain in Delphi to care for his sanctuary, and to worship him there as Apollo Delphinios, because he had taken on this shape[48]. Plutarch, rationalising the story a little, says that the god had simply sent a dolphin to guide the sailors[49]. The statue of a dolphin which Pausanias saw near Apollo's altar at Delphi is not likely to have been the only monumental representation of a *motif* so central to the mythology of the sanctuary[50]. The metamorphosis of the Homeric Hymn is apparently much earlier than the story told by Ovid of Poseidon and Melantho (although he may have found it in an earlier source); and since some animal titles imply that the deity in question had once been seen as the animal itself, this may explain why *delphinios* was attached to Apollo, and not to Poseidon.

A characteristic not obviously connected with the sea, which was shared by Apollo and the dolphin was their love of music. Plutarch comments: "Well might the god be fond of the dolphin, to which Pindar likens himself, saying that he is roused,

> 'Like a dolphin on the sea
> Who on the waveless deep of ocean
> Is moved by the lovely sound of flutes'." [51]

It is presumably by virtue of her relationship with Apollo, whose sanctuaries, like the *Delphinion* of Athens, she sometimes shared, that

Artemis was accorded the title of *Delphinia*. In any case, Pollux referred to the Athens sanctuary as sacred both to Apollo Delphinios and Artemis Delphinia[52]. But Plutarch links together as sea-gods Apollo Delphinios and Artemis Diktynna[53]; and it has been seen that as Diktynna, Artemis was a sea-goddess without the help of her brother. But many of the sanctuaries in which she was worshipped without this title were also established beside the sea-shore. At Ephesos her marine power was acknowledged in the feast of Artemis Daitis, in which young girls carried her cult-statue to the sea-shore (where it was probably bathed) and offered her a gift of salt[54]. In the legendary Taurian sanctuary of Artemis, where the waves are described as reaching the temple itself, Iphigeneia explains to Thoas that she must wash the famous cult-statue in the sea[55]. Perhaps this detail of Euripides indicates that a similar ceremony took place at Halai, Brauron's rival for the eventual possession of the Taurian image[56]. At Halai (as in the Tauris imagined by Euripides) the temple is very near the sea, swept by the sand (if not by waves) even today.

B. Archaeological evidence

Twenty-five representations of dolphins (apparently alone), and four representations of the animal as a companion of Poseidon, were reported in the sanctuaries under consideration here. Out of this total of twenty-nine, twelve (including all the representations of god and dolphin) were found in sanctuaries of Poseidon, who received more of these images than other deities, even though comparatively few of his sanctuaries have been examined in this study. Most of them were small dedications, like the bronze miniature from Isthmia; but the Hellenistic marble fragments from Tinos once decorated the god's

temple itself, along with marine monsters and sea-dragons. Although the total number of dolphins found in our sanctuaries is not great (there are only four of them on the Archaic Penteskouphia plaques compared with eighteen bulls), their distribution is consistent with their role as creatures of Poseidon. They came to light in three of the five sanctuaries of this study which belonged to Poseidon alone; and it is probable that the bronze dolphin with the youth on its back, and the bronze weight decorated with two dolphins in relief discovered on the Athenian Acropolis, were also dedicated to Poseidon[57]. (The bronzes representing a triton, and a marine griffin found there would be similarly appropriate dedications for the god of the sea.) Clearly, dolphin-representations were regarded as suitable offerings for Poseidon; and their appropriateness is reflected in their survival and discovery (limited though this is) in the sanctuaries where he was worshipped.

Seven of the remaining images of dolphins listed here were dedicated to Apollo, but unlike those belonging to Poseidon, they were limited to a single sanctuary. Here dedicatory practice appears to accord with the Homeric myth of Apollo Delphinios, since the sanctuary is Delphi; and the *motif* celebrated in the statue which Pausanias noticed is echoed in the more modest bronze figurines, and even in the decoration stamped on some Roman lamps[58]. But it is also possible that the bronze dolphin pendant from Olympia was a dedication to Apollo Pythios; since it was found outside the Altis to the west of the Bouleuterion, and in this area, or near it, the god (whose title of Pythios specifically links him with the Delphian myth) had an altar (see Figure 1)[59]. Apollo's status as a sea-faring god (and not simply as one who sailed to Delphi) could also explain the representations of fish dedicated to him at Amyclai and Bassai; and the terracotta sea-horse, also from Amyclai, and the

gold ring decorated with the same *motif* from Kato Phana[60]. In fact according to Sam Wide, Apollo Delphinios was identical both with the Amyclaian god, and with Apollo Pythios[61].

Representations of dolphin have been found in two sanctuaries of Artemis: Brauron and Ephesos, both near the sea, and likely to have been nearer it in antiquity. At Brauron, two dolphins adorn a round *pinax*, a decoration which may perhaps refer to the marine element in the cult of Taurian Artemis and her priestess Iphigeneia[62]. At Ephesos, where one minute bronze dolphin formed the head of an Archaic pin, the *motif* was also used to decorate the later altar court, to which Bammer believed that some blocks engraved with rosettes, swans, and dolphins must have belonged[63]. These *motifs* are appropriate symbols of Artemis as goddess of vegetation, of fresh water, and of the sea[64]; and it has been noted that at Ephesos, too, a ceremonial bathing of the cult-statue probably took place annually. But even at Artemis Orthia, which is far from the sea, the earlier of the two types of small lead fish recorded there may be interpreted as a dolphin[65], and it is even possible that this type of figurine, as well as the clearer representations of the dolphin at Brauron and Ephesos, may be an acknowledgement of Artemis' occasional title of *Delphinia*. The fact that there was a sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios at Sparta lends some feasibility to this notion.

C. Conclusion

Creatures of the sea are not among the more common types of animal-representation to be offered to the gods or to decorate their sanctuaries. But of those which have come to light in the sanctuaries examined here (rather less than 100 in all), more fish, dolphins and

other sea-creatures were found in sanctuaries of Poseidon than in those of other deities. Artemis (in Sparta) and Athena (especially at Lindos) received almost as many as fish as Poseidon, but far fewer dolphins and fantastic sea-creatures. It is the precinct of Apollo at Delphi which (apart from Poseidon's sanctuaries considered as a whole) has yielded more dolphin-representations than have sites belonging to other deities. And out of a total twenty-one representations of fabulous monsters listed, fifteen were found in sanctuaries of Poseidon, including several Hellenistic marbles which decorated his temple in Tinos, and are reminiscent of the similar marine fantasies observed by Pausanias at Isthmia. The remaining six sea-monsters were terracotta figurines dedicated in Lindos and Perachora beside the sea, where Athena and Hera are likely to have been invoked to grant good fortune to mariners.

The distribution in sanctuaries of the images of sea-creatures indicates that Poseidon, as the sea-god of mythology, and the chief patron of fishermen, was regarded as the most proper recipient of these material representations of his creatures. At the same time, the dolphin-images found at Delphi may be seen as an acknowledgement, like the legend in the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo, of the significance which invested the dolphin at this sanctuary. Nevertheless, it must also be accepted that the sanctuary of almost any deity might receive a votive which either represented or was decorated with a fish or a dolphin. The images of fish which Artemis received in Spartan Limnai may have been appropriate dedications for the goddess who under her titles of Limnatis and Diktynna was associated with water and with nets; while the few dolphins which have come to light in Brauron and Ephesos may have been placed there in recognition of her occasional title of *Delphinia*, and the role of sea-goddess which she

sometimes assumed. But Athena, not generally associated with fishermen, according to the evidence available received as many fish and dolphins as Artemis. They were, moreover, found (though not in quantity) in sanctuaries of Zeus as well as in those of the sea-faring Apollo; and in sanctuaries far inland like Olympia, Elateia or Tegea, as well as those by the sea like Perachora, Lindos or Sounion.

But while the distribution of these votives in the sanctuaries under discussion may not be a precise reflection of the beliefs expressed in literature, enough of them were found in Poseidon's shrines to be consistent with his character as a sea-god in mythology; while their lesser but not negligible presence in sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis is also consistent with the interest which these deities had in the sea (or at least in water). But the fact that the reason for their presence in certain other sanctuaries is not apparent to us now, is not a conclusive argument that they had no significance there. As I have suggested, the occasional association of fish with the *potnia theron*, as a symbol of her dominion over water and even - possibly - over death, may account for the dedication of their images in sanctuaries of Athena at Lindos and elsewhere, and (to a lesser degree) of other goddesses included among the Olympians.

Footnotes

1. *API* VI. 105 (Loeb, *Greek Anthology*. I (1927) p. 357).

2. Athenaeus. 297 E.

3. Pausanias. X. 9.2.

4. *Oneirocriticon*. II.35, p. 132. Whereas the epithet "Limenitis" relates Artemis to the harbour (and thus to salt-water fishing), "Limnatis" or "Limnaia" characterizes her as a goddess of pools and lakes (and so, presumably, to fresh-water fish).

5. Antoninus Liberalis. *Metamorphoses*. 40; Pausanias II. 30.2.

6. For example, at Diktynna itself on the Rhodopou peninsula in Crete [*MA* II (1901) pp. 295-304; F. Matz, *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942*. Berlin 1951; *Kleine Pauly*^{2} (1969) pp. 27-29]; at Phalasarna, not far away on the west coast of Crete, where there was a harbour and a temple sacred to Artemis called Diktynna [Dionysius Calliphontis Filius. *Descriptio Graeciae*. 120-122 (C. Müller. *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Paris 1854 p. 242)]; and at Hypsoi in Laconia [Pausanias III. 24.9]. There was also an altar to Diktys (probably the same deity) in Seriphos, which is where Perseus and Danae were washed ashore [Pausanias. II. 18.1].

7. *Theogony* 440-443.

8. Diodorus. V. 3.6 (Loeb. Vol. III. p. 105).

9. Pausanias. III. 21.5.

10. *Ibid*. I. 38.1; VII. 2.4.

11. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. IV. p. 153.

12. Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. XII. 1.

13. Plutarch. *Moralia*. 730 D-E.

14. W. Dittenberger. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig 1883, p. 501, no. 364 (If any fish should die, it was to be burnt on the altar.)

15. *De Syria Dea*. 45 (Loeb Lucian. Vol. IV. pp. 396-8).

16. Although Pan received the offering of a crab [*API* VI. 196].

17. See Rouse, p. 60.

18. This is based on the assumption that the sheet-bronze fish from Asea, and the octopus from the Acropolis were more likely to have been dedicated to Poseidon than to Athena.

19. The contents of the deposit were mixed, and belonged to both periods (R. Vallois. *L'Architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Delos*. Vol. I. p. 13).

20. *Lindos*. I. p. 160.

21. Pausanias. VIII. 41.4-6.

22. The dedications of sailors may be seen at Perachora in a bronze fish-spear, two fish-hooks, and an Archaic clay boat (*Perachora*. I. p. 73, Pl. 17.9; p. 182, Pl. 80.6; p. 97, Pl. 29.4); while at Samos at least twenty-two Archaic votive wooden ships have been found (*AM* 95 (1980) p. 92, Pl. 18-20). Also at Samos there was the stone base for a large ship (*AA* 80 (1965) p. 432, Fig. 2);

22. and an Archaic bronze plaque on which Amphidemos recorded the dedication of captured ships to Hera and Poseidon (*AM* 87 (1972) p. 106, Pl. 47).

    At the same time, the crab-*motif* on the seals from Perachora might be regarded as appropriate for Hera, since it was she who placed the crab in the sky as a constellation, after Herakles had killed it (Hyginus. *Astronomia*. II. 23.1).

23. *AM* 50 (1925) pp. 157-166, Pl. 7.

24. *Ibid*. p. 160, Fig. 1.

25. Lecture by Professor N. Coldstream, "Early Greek Knossos" given at Edinburgh University, 8 November 1983.

26. See note 23.

27. *Potnia Theron*, p. 13.

28. An eighth-century *larnax* from another of the tombs at Knossos is also decorated with fish.

29. Aphrodite, as a goddess born of the sea, is sometimes represented sitting on a dolphin [*Lexlc*. II. "Aphrodite". 978 and 984].

30. *Knights*. 560.

31. *Odyssey*. XII. 96-97.

32. Bacchylides. XVI. 96-97.

33. Pausanias. VI. 20.10-12; V. 15.5.

34. *Ibid*. VIII. 42.4.

35. *Ibid*. I. 44.8.

36. *Ibid*. II. 1.6.

37. *Ibid*. II. 1.7.

38. Plutarch recounts a number of stories about dolphins who saved men from drowning, or otherwise showed regard for them (*Moralia*. 984A-985C).

39. Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. VI. 120.

40. Pausanias. II. 2.8.

41. *Ibid*. X. 36.4.

42. *Ibid*. III. 25.7.

43. For example, Corinthian coins of the Imperial period indicate that the bronze Poseidon of the harbour at Kenchreai, to which Pausanias refers without mentioning any dolphin, actually carried one in his hand, and rested his foot on another (Pausanias II. 2.3; BV. Head. *Catalogue of Greek coins Corinth*. (BM) London 1889, p. 81, no. 630, Pl. 21.2).

44. Pausanias. II. 1.7-8.

45. Nilsson. *Griechische Feste*. p. 104.

46. *RE* 4 (1901) 2514.

47. *Homeric Hymns*. III. 391 ff.

48. It would be interesting to know whether the tradition reported by Pausanias (II. 33.2) that the sanctuary at Delphi originally belonged to Poseidon, arose from a later feeling that the dolphin was more properly his servant.

49. *Moralia*. 984A.

50. Pausanias. X. 13.10.

51. *Moralia* 984B-C (Loeb. *Moralia*. Vol. XII, p. 471). Both Euripides and Aristophanes refer to the dolphin as a friend to the flute (*Electra*. 435-6; *Frogs*. 1317-18). I imagine that the idea was based on an observation of the dolphins' behaviour near ships whose rowers kept time to a flute.

52. Pollux. *Onomastikon*. VIII. 19. *cf.* the glosses for *Delphinion* in I. Bekker. *Anecdota Graeca*. Berlin 1814-1821, Vol. I, p. 255.19).

53. *Moralia*. 984A.

54. See *Etymologicum Magnum*. Gloss on *Daitis*. The bathing of the image is not mentioned specifically; but Charles Picard believed that it could have been carried to the shore for no other purpose (*Ephèse et Claros*. p. 312; pp. 315-16).

55. Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. 1196; 1199.

56. *Ibid*. 1452-4 (the claim for Halai); Pausanias I. 33.1 (the claim for Brauron).

57. Poseidon had altars at the entrance to the Erechtheion; and inside the building was a well containing sea-water, from which the sound of waves sometimes came, and the mark of a trident in the rock - all bearing witness to his rival claim to the city and its sanctuary (Pausanias I. 26.6).

58. The large bronze *fibula*-plaque decorated with four dolphins and published in the *Fouilles de Delphes* (Vol. V. (1908) p. 113, Fig. 406) came from a tomb on the site of the museum.

59. Pausanias. V. 15.4; see Fig. 8.

60. Pausanias saw the skull of an enormous sea-monster in the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios at Sikyon (II. 10.2); placed there perhaps with the god's sea-faring role in mind.

61. Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. pp. 88-89.

62. See Pausanias. I. 23.9.

63. *AA* 83 (1968) p. 412.

64. The dolphin appears as an attribute of at least one Bronze Age *potnia*, on a gem from Pylos. Here it may be assumed that the pair with which she is flanked express her character as a marine goddess (*Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 5).

65. *AO* Pl. 184.17.

FROGS OR TOADS (*See Appendix 8.8*)

A. Literary evidence of frogs in sanctuaries

In his *De Pythiae Oraculis*, Plutarch gives an account of a visit to Delphi; and of a discussion about the meaning of a certain dedication observed in the Treasury of the Corinthians[1]. The discussion is of general interest to any consideration of the appropriateness of objects dedicated in sanctuaries, since it shows that at least by Plutarch's time, some such appropriateness was expected. But it is also of specific relevance to the subject of frogs and to the representations of them which have been found in certain sanctuaries. The Corinthian dedication was a bronze palm-tree, at whose base were frogs and water-snakes. All the visitors realized that the palm-tree was an emblem of Apollo, but the meaning of the frogs was less clear to them. It was finally suggested that the group symbolized "the birth and exhalation of the sun" (that is, the palm-tree) "from moisture" (that is, the frogs and snakes)[2]. The symbolism is not surprising, as it was generally recognized that the very nature of frogs was moist[3]; and they were seen as marsh-dwellers, and frequenters of the reeds which grow in marshes[4].

This association of frogs with moisture is given another religious context in a dedicatory epigram which celebrates the dedication of a bronze frog to the nymphs: "Some traveller, who stilled here his tormenting thirst in the heat, moulded in bronze and dedicated *ex voto* this servant of the nymphs, the damp songster who loves the rain, the frog who takes joy in light fountains; for it guided him to the water as he wandered, singing opportunely with its amphibious mouth from the damp hollow. Then, not deserting the guiding voice, he found the drink he longed for."[5].

Real frogs were evidently a feature of the Letoon of Xanthos, with its abundant water; so much so that Ovid related a metamorphosis which explained their presence[6]. While Leto was searching for a refuge in which to give birth to Apollo and Artemis, she came to a reed-fringed pool where the discourteous Lycian peasants prevented her from drinking. To punish them, the goddess changed them into frogs, and they continued to live in the same pool where her sanctuary was established. It has been seen that deities are associated with the creatures into which they transform their victims; so Plutarch and his friends, who guessed that the bronze group at Delphi symbolized the sun's birth from moisture, might have expressed the same idea in more purely mythological terms by suggesting that it symbolized Apollo's birth of Leto.

The dedicatory epigram makes it clear that for the ancients, the frog had an association with water and with moisture, which no doubt endeared it to the inhabitants of a dry country. In Egypt, where animal-shaped gods survived for longer, the frog had a more specific religious significance, and was accorded a divine status in the person of Heqet, the frog-headed goddess. Heqet was the goddess of birth, and frogs in Egypt were symbols of birth and of resurrection[7]. In the Greek world, the preferred *habitat* of frogs, beside lakes and rivers, and in marshy places, might also be chosen as a site for the worship of fertility-deities. It has been observed in the discussion of birds[8] that Leto, whose throne was supported by water-birds in her sanctuary beside the lake in Delos, was such a fertility-deity. Like the Delian sanctuary with its associated swans or geese, the frog-haunted Letoon beside the river Xanthos was clearly linked in mythology with the role of the goddess as a mother. Other examples of watery sites where

fertility-goddesses had their cults and frogs their dwellings are Brauron, Limnai in Sparta, Ephesos, and the Samian Heraion. Karl Hoenn, discussing the Spartan sanctuary, notes that mud and swamp was regarded as the material of fertility and mother-hood[9]. The frog who guided travellers to water, and who was recognized as a marsh-dweller, would be associated with life through the moisture which is its element. At the same time, it must have been the reproductive capacity which is a striking feature of the animal, that made the Egyptians identify it with their birth-goddess; and this aspect of the frog, too, can hardly have been ignored by the Greeks.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) The distribution of frog-representations in sanctuaries

The number of ivory frogs found at the sanctuary outside Pherai was not specified in the published accounts of the excavation: all that can be deduced with certainty, is that there was more than one. It is therefore impossible to be sure of the total number of frog-representations from all the sanctuaries under discussion here: it must have been at least nineteen, but is unlikely to have been much greater than twenty. Eleven of the sanctuaries have yielded their images: three of Artemis (including Pherai); three of Hera; two of Athena; one of Demeter; one of Apollo and one of Zeus. At least seven of these images were dedicated to Artemis; six to Hera, three to Athena, and one each to Demeter, Apollo and a deity of the Olympian sanctuary. Thus, all but two of the eleven sanctuaries where frogs were found belonged to female deities. The bronze medallion engraved with a frog from Olympia need not, of course, have been dedicated to Zeus. According to Furtwängler, it was discovered in the north-west part of the Altis; and in this general area there were three altars of Artemis (see Figure 1)[10].

(ii) Artemis and frogs

The fact that rather more of the frog-representations found in sanctuaries were dedicated to Artemis than to other deities may (since only a small number of these dedications are under discussion) reflect the chances of survival and discovery, rather than any definite religious association. Yet Artemis was a leader of nymphs, associated with water and fertility, many of whose sanctuaries were located in the damp and low-lying places where frogs abound. There could hardly have been a more suitable recipient among the Olympians for the images of frogs. All her sanctuaries which yielded these dedications were beside water;
29 they were all (even) subject to flooding[11]. The "damp hollow" of the dedicatory epigram to the nymphs describes the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia beside the River Eurotas particularly well. Artemis Orthia, as a fertility-goddess, was also associated with child-birth. Very near the sanctuary (if not actually inside the *temenos*) was an *Eileithyion*, as the tiles stamped "Ιεροῦ Ἐλευσίας" and the bronze die with a scratched inscription to Eileithyia, indicate[12]. A fragmentary early *kourotrophos* figurine, and another terracotta representing "a pair of birth-daemons supporting a mother and newly born child" also give expression to the reproductive element in the cult[13].

The only known surviving representation of a *potnia theron* with a frog, is a sixth-century bronze mirror, whose handle takes the form of a naked goddess. The figure is holding a pair of cymbals, and on each of her shoulders are the hind-legs of a lion (now broken) which originally must have supported the disk; and she stands on the back of a large frog[14]. It has been suggested that the mirror (like a number of others where the naked goddesses stand on different animals) is a Spartan work[15]; and Christou, accepting the opinion of Langlotz,

believes that the goddess represents Artemis Orthia, at whose sanctuaries dances were performed; and that the frog as her attribute symbolizes both water and fertility[16].

Certainly the frog's liking for reeds (which Aristophanes also refers to[17]) links it with Artemis, in some of whose cults reed crowns were worn[18]; and particularly with Artemis Orthia, whose cult-statue itself may have worn such a crown[19]. Several of the ivory and bone plaques, and the bone idols,depict the goddess wearing a reed head-dress[20], and R. Herbig believes that the oblong strips of bone with prongs, found "in enormous quantities" at the sanctuary, were also token reed-crowns, dedicated to Artemis Orthia as one of her attributes[21].

The animal figurines discovered at Brauron, the Artemis sanctuary most closely associated with childbirth, have not been fully published. It would be interesting to know if there was a frog among them: real ones, by their croaking, are even now much in evidence there.

Another possible indication that the frog (or its near relation, the toad) was closer to Artemis than to other deities is that the epithet *phrynitis* has been applied to her associate Hekate. This occasioned a suggestion by M. Wellman that Hekate in one of her guises might originally have been frog-shaped[22]. She was in part a goddess of child-birth[23], a characteristic she shares with the frog-headed Egyptian Heqet (whose name is remarkably similar), but she also embodied the chthonic aspect of the *potnia theron*, and more specifically, the chthonic aspect of Artemis herself. It was at Pherai, where Artemis was most closely identified with Hekate (or Enodia), that more than one ivory frog was discovered.

(iii) Other deities and frogs

But we have seen that Artemis is not the only goddess to inherit the traits of the *potnia theron*. Indeed, Richter's identification of the mirror-goddess as Aphrodite, and not Artemis, can hardly be disproved[24]. Nor was Artemis the only deity to whom frogs were dedicated. Hera, Athena, and Demeter, who all shared in the *potnia* inheritance, all received frog-dedications. The Samian Heraion was as well-watered a sanctuary as Ephesos or Artemis Orthia, and there the bronze frog on the lionshead water-spout (evidently part of a fountain) provides an apposite plastic illustration of the dedicatory epigram to the nymphs.

The passages in Plutarch show that frogs might also be dedicated to Apollo; and a terracotta figurine has in fact come to light in the Maleatas sanctuary. Papadimitriou suggested that it might have referred to Apollo's ability to cure stammering. The chorus of frogs in Aristophanes, however, maintained that Apollo took delight in their croaking as a musician (rather than a healer), and also loved them for the reeds which grew in their lake, and were used in the construction of lyres[25]. But the idea put forward by M. Frankel that frogs were sacred to Apollo because of their prophetic arts seems to be based merely on the observed fact that when they croaked more loudly and clearly than usual, rain was imminent[26]. His idea is dismissed both by Rouse[27] and by Jacobsthal[28]. As I have suggested, there is some reason to suppose that Artemis, as well as Apollo, was worshipped on Mt. Kynortion in the Maleatas sanctuary[29]. It is therefore quite possible that the terracotta frog was yet another dedication of the creature to her.

C. Conclusion

Few representations of frogs have been found in sanctuaries; and their scarcity might have made it hard to assess their significance, were it not for the fact that literary sources explicitly link them with water and humidity. In fact they have much the same associations as the far more commonly dedicated water-bird. Unlike the water-bird, they are not commonly represented as an attribute of the *potnia theron*; but the *motif* of the goddess standing on a frog is not unknown; and like the water-bird, it probably represents her dominion over water, and her character as a fertility-goddess. It may also (since *phrynitis* is a title of Hekate) refer to her chthonic aspect. Hence it is not surprising that nearly all the frog-representations considered in this study were found in the sanctuaries of female deities; and even the two exceptions may have been dedicated to Artemis. In this tendency, too, they are comparable to the water-birds. Artemis, not only as *potnia theron*, but also as chief of the nymphs, is especially well-represented among the recipients of frogs; and those of her sanctuaries at which they have been found are wet places, appropriate for a fertility-goddess, and haunted by real frogs.

Footnotes

1. *Moralia* 399F-400D (Loeb. *Moralia*. Vol. V. p. 289).

2. The same question about the relation of the frogs "to the god or to the dedicator" is raised, but not answered, in the *Septem Sapientum Convivium* (*Moralia* 164a).

3. Aristotle. 862A.

4. Aristotle. 487A; Antoninus Liberalis 35; Nikander. *Alexipharmaca*. 578-9.

5. *API* VI. 43 (Loeb. *Greek Anthology*. Vol. I. p. 321) *cf API* IX. 406, where a frog inside a crater declares itself a friend to water.

6. *Metamorphoses* VI. 325-6, 370-381. See Vallois' Comment in *BCH* 53 (1929) p. 223.

7. *AJA* 54 (1950) p. 255 (Review of a book on the frog-shaped lamps of Roman Egypt, by Louise A. Shier).

8. See above, pp. 29-30, & 45.

9. Hoenn. *Artemis*. p. 32.

10. Pausanias V. 15.7. See Fig. 1.

11. *AA* 83 (1968) p. 408 (Ephesos)
AO pp. 2, 4, 5 and 16 (Artemis Orthia)
RE Suppl. VII (1950) 977 (Pherai).

12. *AO* p. 51, and p. 33, Fig. 18d; p. 202.

13. *Ibid.* p. 51. Fig. 29.

14. G.M.A. Richter. *Handbook of the Greek Collection*. (Metropolitan Museum of Art) Harvard University Press. 1953. p. 34. Pl. 22e. Congdon. *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*. Pl. 6. no. 8; *Lexlc* II. "Aphrodite". 372.

15. Winifred Lamb (quoting E. Langlotz on p. 91 of *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*) associates the naked caryatids on late Archaic bronze mirrors with the cult of Artemis Orthia. (W. Lamb. *Greek and Roman Bronzes*. London. 1929, p. 129). Richter, however, disagrees, and attributes the frog mirror to Corinth, suggesting that the goddess may represent Aphrodite. (*Ibid. Loc. cit.*; *AJA* 42 (1938) pp. 342-4).

16. Christou. *Potnia theron*. pp. 121-3.

17. *Frogs*. 231-234.

18. *JHS* 3 (1882) p. 54; *Potnia theron* pp. 30-31.

19. *Jdl* 55 (1940) pp. 75-6.

20. *AO* Pl. 91.1 & 2; 92.1 & 2; 112.2-4; and 117-121.

21. *Jdl* 55 (1940) pp. 75-6. *Cf AO* p. 237.

22. *RE* 7 (1910) 117.

23. See "Dogs". pp. 116-117.

24. See above, note 15.

25. *Frogs*. Lines 231-234.

26. Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. IX. 13. Theophrastus. *De Signis Tempestatum*. 15.

27. Rouse. p. 232. note 12.

28. Paul Jacobsthal. *Greek Pins and their connexions with Europe and Asia.* Oxford. 1956. p. 59.

29. See "Dogs", p. 123.

TORTOISES (*See Appendix 8.9*)

A. Literary Evidence

(i) Myths and ancient statues

Pausanias mentions that the tortoises on Mt. Parthenion in Arcadia were regarded as sacred to Pan[1]; but the god who was most closely associated with the tortoise in mythology is Hermes, who first constructed the lyre out of its shell[2]. Then, in order to appease Apollo for the theft of his cattle, Hermes made him a present of the first tortoise-shell and Apollo in return made him keeper of herds[3]. The word for "tortoise" even became a synonym for "lyre"[4]; and as the lyre was one of Apollo's attributes, the tortoise, by an emblematic extension, was regarded as sacred to him as well. It may have been Apollo's predilection (as a musician) for the animal from which his lyre was made,that prompted the god to change himself into a tortoise in order to ravish the nymph Driope[5].

When Pausanias visited the sanctuaries of Greece, he saw an iconographical expression of Hermes' association with the tortoise in the Argive statue where the god is in the process of gripping the animal[6]; and when he came to the temple of Hermes in Megalopolis, he found nothing left of it but a stone tortoise[7]. The Argive Hermes was appropriately situated in a sanctuary of Apollo, who inherited the tortoise; but Pausanias makes no mention of any representation of Apollo himself with this attribute[8] (frequently though he must have appeared with a lyre)[9]. In Elis, however, he saw Pheidias' ivory and gold statue of Aphrodite Ourania, who rested one of her feet on a tortoise[10]. There is no known mythological explanation for this *motif*, and Pausanias leaves it to the reader to conjecture on the meaning of the animal.

Plutarch suggested (no doubt in jest) that it was a hint that women should stay at home and keep silent[11]. O. Keller offered the more convincing suggestion that the tortoise was associated with Phoenician Astarte as a fertility-symbol, because of the large number of eggs it produced; and that it became an attribute of Aphrodite owing to her close affinities with this goddess[12].

(ii) The divine title of Chelitis

The tortoise-derived title of *Chelitis*, however, was given not to Hermes, Apollo or Aphrodite (in any confirmation of these literary associations) but solely to Artemis. The reference to Artemis Chelitis was made by Clement of Alexandria, who says she was venerated under this name in Sparta; but he offers the strange interpretation of "coughing Artemis" (from Χελύσσω, spit or cough)[13]. This does not seem to have gained the support of modern scholars, who have assumed that *Chelitis* derives from Χέλυς (tortoise); and that as the tortoise is a creature which clings to the earth, it refers to Artemis' character as an earth-goddess[14].

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Representations of tortoises in sanctuaries

Representations of tortoises have been found in sixteen of the sanctuaries examined in this account. The exact quantity of those which came to light in the Thasos Artemision and at Kalydon have not been published in the reports, but it may be estimated that about fifty representations in all were discovered. Four sanctuaries each of Artemis, Athena, and Apollo, three of Hera, and Aphaia's sanctuary in Aegina produced this type of dedication, mostly in the form of terracotta or

bronze figurines dating from the Archaic period. Twenty-seven were dedicated to Athena, of which twenty-three (of the period between 525 and 400 BC) come from Lindos; twelve or more were dedicated to Artemis, five each to Apollo and Hera, and two to Aphaia. Judging by the numbers of individual representations, Athena and Artemis received these votives more frequently than other deities; and it is always possible that Artemis was also the recipient of the terracottas dedicated in some sanctuaries of Apollo[15]. Only at the Kalapodi sanctuary were the shells of real tortoises discovered; and these came from the Mycenean cult-level of the deposit in front of the South-East corner of the fifth century temple[16].

It is evident that no deity had a monopoly of tortoise-dedications; and that Apollo, who among the deities of our sanctuaries is most closely associated with the tortoise through mythology, received fewer in dedication than Athena or Artemis. Nevertheless, it is possible that their presence in four of his sanctuaries may have reflected a consciousness in the minds of dedicators that he had an interest in the creature from which his lyre was made. In the Maleatas sanctuary where more than one terracotta tortoise was found, the lyre *motif* also occurs, both as an attribute of bronze Apollo figurines[17]; and as the design stamped on two terracotta disks[18]. But the presence of the tortoises in all these Apollo sanctuaries may have another explanation, unconnected with the lyre, which I shall presently discuss.

The sanctuaries of Artemis have yielded more tortoise-representations than those of her brother; and they may have been regarded as appropriate dedications for a goddess of the earth to whom the title of *Chelitis* was given. Moreover, the fact that it was in Sparta that Artemis Chelitis was venerated (according to Clement of Alexandria)

might account for the number of tortoises found in the Limnai sanctuary. This sanctuary contained the oldest of all the tortoise-dedications, and also the highest recorded number offered to Artemis. They are made not only in terracotta as in most other sites, but are a recurring *motif* also in bronze and bone. Thus if Artemis Laphria (or Elaphebolia) of Hyampolis was the goddess worshipped at Kalapodi, as the excavators have suggested[19], it is not inappropriate that she should have been the successor to a Mycenean deity to whom the shells of real tortoises were offered. As a wild creature, the tortoise could have been among the animals sacrificed on the Laphrian bonfire; and it has already been noted that at Delphi, which produced a bronze tortoise-shaped *alabastron*, Artemis Laphria evidently had a cult[20].

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that the greatest number of tortoise-representations from any one site were discovered in the Lindian sanctuary of Athena, who had no known mythological connections with the creature[21], and who was never apparently invoked by any name referring to it. A small number of tortoises were also found in three of Athena's other sanctuaries and in three of Hera's. For none of these dedications is it easy to find an explanation in ancient literary sources.

(ii) *The tortoise, the potnia theron, and Bronze Age cults*

In Christou's *Potnia Theron*, he refers to three bronzes in which a goddess is represented standing on a tortoise[22]. One is an early fifth century mirror-handle from Aegina, where the goddess (who wears an apron) was tentatively identified by De Ridder as Aphrodite[23]. Another mirror-handle in Berlin, apparently of unknown provenance, shows the goddess naked[24]; while a third figurine shows signs of

having formed part of a group with sphinxes[25]. Christou assumes that these female figurines are to be regarded as deities, but refrains from identifying them either with Aphrodite (on the analogy of the Pheidias statue) or with Artemis (on the grounds of the epithet "Chelitis"), or with any one Olympian goddess. The images show simply that the tortoise could appear as an attribute of the Archaic *potnia theron*, who cannot be identified exclusively with any Olympian goddess. As to the meaning of the tortoise as an attribute, Christou believed that since like the frog, it is an amphibian reptile, preferring to live in damp places, it signifies moisture and fertility; and since it creeps low on the ground, it also symbolizes the earthy nature of the *potnia*. Farnell, too, thought that it referred to water[26]. This more general interpretation of the tortoise as an attribute seems reasonable. While Artemis may appropriately be given the title of *Chelitis* because of her character as goddess of the earth and of water, and of wild animals small as well as great, other female deities could on occasion share aspects of this character. Thus Aphrodite as a fertility-goddess took possession of the tortoise as a visual attribute[27]; and when Apollo took on its shape to get possession of Dryope, it might have been not so much because of the lyre-myth as because it was a suitable plaything (or attribute) for a nymph who was the grand-daughter of the River Sperchios. It has been observed that another goddess who remained a *potnia theron* even when given an Olympian name was Athena Lindia; and the comparatively large number of tortoises dedicated at her sanctuary are explicable in terms of this inheritance.

The *potnia theron* of the Archaic period herself derives from the nature-goddesses of the East and of Crete and Mycene. Blinkenberg, in explanation of the Lindian tortoises, expresses the opinion that their

presence (like that of the many birds[28]) indicated that the deity had a Mycenean origin[29]. This theory is certainly consistent with the discovery of two Archaic terracotta tortoises at the sanctuary of Aphaia, a goddess of Cretan origin, whose precinct had evidently been the site of a Bronze Age cult[30]. None of the tortoise-representations at the sanctuaries examined date from the Bronze Age; but the real tortoise-shells found in the Mycenean layers of the Kalapodi sanctuary (and also at Phylakopi) do suggest that they might have played a part in Bronze Age cults, and thus lend some material support to Blinkenberg's theory. At least they indicate that the association of the tortoise with certain Olympian goddesses, and the presence of its image in a number of sanctuaries belonging to female deities, had a long history.

The only male deity in whose sanctuaries tortoise-representations were found is Apollo, and the story of the tortoise and the lyre of the musician-god suggests a motive for the dedicator's choice. But in all of his sanctuaries which produced these images, there is also evidence of a Mycenean presence, and at Delphi, Delos, and the Maleatas site, specifically of a Mycenean cult[31]. I have suggested that the tortoises found at these sanctuaries could have been dedicated to Artemis rather than Apollo, in view of the indications that she was worshipped with him at all of them. In the absence of an inscribed object, this can be no more than speculation; but at least their dedication could have stemmed from the traditions of a Bronze Age cult in which a female deity was worshipped, similar to the one who received tortoise-shells at Kalapodi. This need not exclude the possibility that an association between Apollo, his lyre, and the tortoise, may also have been in the minds of the dedicators, especially once the Olympian gods had assumed their post-Homeric characters and attributes.

C. Conclusion

It is hard to account for the presence of tortoise-representations in sanctuaries, in terms of mythology. According to mythology, it is Hermes and Apollo who are associated with the tortoise, because Hermes first made the lyre out of its shell, and gave it to Apollo. Yet while tortoise-figurines have been found in four sanctuaries of Apollo, the great majority were dedicated to Athena Lindia, and to Artemis. A more likely explanation for their presence in sanctuaries is the theory, held by Blinkenberg, and supported by the discovery of real tortoise-shells in the Kalapodi sanctuary, that the animals are to be associated with a Mycenean goddess, whose connection with earth and with moisture they may have symbolized. Thus it is to the deities, particularly the female deities, who were most closely linked with their Mycenean forbears, that tortoise-representations were most commonly dedicated in the Geometric period and later. Artemis, the *potnia theron* of historic times, who was sometimes actually called *Chelitis*, and who may have inherited a sanctuary where tortoise-shells were dedicated to a Mycenean deity, was the chief of these; but Athena Lindia (like Aphaia) was another. Even the Apollo sanctuaries which yielded tortoises once housed Mycenean cults; and there are reasons to suppose that Artemis was worshipped in all of these sanctuaries as well as her brother. It is in terms of a Mycenean survival then, rather than the mythology which has reached us in literary form, that the tortoise-representations in sanctuaries may be most usefully interpreted. This interpretation, at least, is consistent with the relatively frequent dedication of the figurines to Athena Lindia, and to Artemis.

Footnotes

1. Pausanias. VIII. 54.7.

2. *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. 24-61; Pausanias. VIII. 17.5.

3. *Homeric Hymn*. 475-502.

4. See *LSJ*, Χελυς.

5. Antoninus Liberalis. *Metamorphoses*. 32.

6. Pausanias. II. 19.6.

7. *Ibid*. VIII. 30.6.

8. There is, however, a bronze statue of Apollo in Florence, where the seated god rests one foot on a tortoise. (*RE* 2AI (1921) 432).

9. See Pausanias. VIII. 31.3.

10. Pausanias. VI. 25.1.

11. Plutarch. 142D (*Praecepta Coniugalia* 32); 381.E (*De Iside et Osiride* 75).

12. O. Keller. *Die Antike Tierwelt*. Leipzig. 1909-1913. Vol. II. pp. 249-50. Astarte was identified specially with Aphrodite Ourania (*RE* 2 (1896) 1777-8) *cf* L.R. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*. Oxford. 1896-1909. Vol. II. p. 674) who believed that the tortoise belonged "to Astarte Aphrodite alone".

13. Clement of Alexandria. *Protrepticus*. *Cap*. II. 33P (Loeb (1919) p. 83).

14. See *RE* 2 (1896) 1401; Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. p. 130, and note 1.

15. The sanctuaries of Apollo where figurines of tortoises were discovered are at Thermon, Delos, Delphi, and the Maleatas sanctuary. Reference has been made in the discussion on dogs to the possibility that Artemis had cults at Thermon and Mt. Kynortion (Dogs pp. 120 & 123).

    The Artemision of Delos predated Apollo's temples in the *hieron* (B. Bergquist. *The Archaic Greek Temenos*. Lund. 1967. pp. 26-30); and there are several indications of a cult of Artemis at Delphi. See Introduction, note 23.

16. *AA* 95 (1980) p. 46; *BCH* 105 (1981) p. 812; *AR* 26 (1980-1) p. 24. Tortoise-shells were also discovered at the Mycenean sanctuary of Phylakopi (C. Renfrew. "The sanctuary at Phylakopi". *Sanctuaries and cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Ed. R. Hagg & N. Marinatos. Stockholm 1981. pp. 70-72. Fig. 18). At the Middle Minoan peak-sanctuary of Petsofa "several" small terracotta tortoises were among the figurines discovered (*BSA* 9 (1902-3) p. 377).

17. *PAE* 1975 p. 174. no. 18. Pl. 152C; 1977 p. 192. Pl. 122b,c.

18. *PAE* 1978. p. 120. Pl. 98C; *BCH* 103 (1979) p. 560. Fig. 82.

19. *AA* 95 (1980) pp. 38-42.

20. See above, note 15.

21. Keller's reference to Athena's transformation to a tortoise's shape (*Op. cit.* p. 253), which is cited in *RE* 2.AI (1921) 432, appears to be based on a misreading of "swallow" (Χελιδόν) in Photius, *Bibliotheca*. 444a. 32.

22. *Potnia theron* . pp. 119-121.

23. *AE* 1895 Pl. 7.

24. U. Jantzen. *Bronzewerkstätten in Grosgriecheland und Sizilien*. *JdI* Supplement 13 (1937) Pl. 28.116; and G. Bruns. *Antiken Bronzen* . Berlin. 1947. p. 27. Fig. 16.

25. Jantzen. *Op. cit.* Pl. 28.117.

26. *Op. cit.* p. 674 note (a) ("The animal probably alludes to the water-goddess").

27. A limestone slab dedicated to Paphian Aphrodite in Cyprus, was carved with the *motif* of a tortoise (*JHS* 9 (1888) p. 253).

28. See above."Birds", note 90.

29. *Lindos*.I. pp. 579-580.

30. A. Furtwängler. *Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*. Munich. 1906. Bronze Age figurines of females and animals (pp. 373-4); engraved stones (p. 432); and 50-100 fragments of Mycenean vases (pp. 434-5) were discovered on the site.

31. 1. Delphi. See *FdD* V (1908): 5 female figurines, and fragments of animals (pp. 14-15); pottery (pp. 15-19); paste pendants (p. 13); fragments of *rhyton* (p. 3) and serpentine vases (p. 21).

    2. Delos. *BCH* 71-72 (1947-8) pp. 148-254. The Artemision deposit.

    3. Apollo Maleatas. Terracotta sherds and figurines (*PAE* 1949. p. 94. Figs. 5 & 6; 1950. p. 199. Figs. 5-7; 1974. p. 100. no. 6; 1975. p. 173; 1976. p. 207; 1978. Pl. 9b; 1979. Pl. 91-2).

    6 seal-stones (*PAE* 1950. p. 199. Figs. 8-9; 1976. pp. 207-8. Pl. 143 b,d; *Ergon* 1975. p. 106. Fig. 101).

    1 steatite *rhyton* (*PAE* 1950. p. 200. Fig. 10; *Ergon* 1976. p. 106. Fig. 102).

    1 bronze dagger (*PAE* 1948. p. 103. Fig. 7).

    BA altar (*PAE* 1976. pp. 206-8. Pl. 141).

The Mycenean remains at Thermon indicate a settlement, but not necessarily a cult (*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 229. Figs. 36-8).

GOATS (*See Appendix 8.10*)

A. Literary evidence

(i) Goats as sacrificial victims

Goats served as sacrifical victims to most of the gods. Both Zeus and Hera were thus called by the title of *Aigophagos*[1]; although in Hera's case, according to Pausanias, this was only in Sparta, where Herakles is said to have begun the custom of goat-sacrifice because he had no other victims to offer[2]. Apollo was offered goats (in addition to sheep and cattle)[3]; the story told by Plutarch, in which Theseus sacrificed a she-goat to Aphrodite shows that she was no exception to general custom[4]; and one of the Dedicatory Epigrams commemorates the sacrifice of a goat to Dionysos[5].

The information about the practice of goat-sacrifice to Artemis is rather more detailed. This history of the 500 goats given yearly to Artemis Agrotera after the battle of Marathon is recorded by more than one writer[6]; while in Sparta, it was before a battle that Artemis Agrotera received she-goats from the people[7]. But it was not only in connection with war that Artemis was offered these victims: at Mounychia goat-sacrifice was the rule[8]; and one of the Dedicatory Epigrams also commemorates the promise of a she-goat to Artemis[9].

It appears that the one Olympian deity to whom goats were not sacrificed was Athena. Athenaeus notes that they were not permitted to enter the Acropolis of Athens, and that they were never sacrificed to Athena at all[10] (and they are certainly not represented as sacrificial victims on the Parthenon Frieze). A law relating to the sanctuary at Lindos went so far as to impose an entry-ban on all persons who had eaten goat-flesh during the previous three days[11]. Cook believed that

it was because Athena had once been worshipped as a goat-goddess in Attica (a cult which left its trace in the *aegis* which she continued to wear after she had been anthropomorphized) that goats were never sacrificed to her [12]. But literature does not offer support for this theory.

(ii) *Goats and the gods in mythology*

Although goats were sacrificed to Zeus, so that he could be called "goat-eater", the animal was not regarded as one of his attributes. His main connection with it in mythology was that as an infant he was suckled by the goat Amalthea in Crete[13]. Some of Apollo's children, including Asklepios, were nourished as infants in the same way; and according to Pausanias it was thought appropriate because of these myths (and also to commemorate sacrifice) to offer bronze statues of goats at Delphi[14]. In Delos, Apollo chose to build his altar of goat-horns[15]. Mythology does not apparently link Hera with the goat, except in the negative sense that Herakles was acting unusually when he made a sacrifice of the animal to her in Sparta. Nor does it satisfactorily explain why Skopas' bronze Aphrodite Pandemon at Elis (which Pausanias saw) was sitting on a goat[16], or why she was called by the title of *Epitragia*. Plutarch's explanation that it was because the she-goat which Theseus was about to sacrifice to her was suddenly transformed into a male, does not seem quite sufficient.

As in the case of literary references to goat-sacrifice, mythology offers more information on the subject of Artemis than of other deities, in relation to goats. It was as the goddess of hunting that Artemis supplied the horns for the Delian *keraton*, for she had first shot the animals on Mt. Cynthos; and the link between Delian Artemis and the hunting of wild goats is later celebrated in a dedicatory epigram, in

which Echemmas dedicates his bow in the Artemision after shooting goats with it, for now "the goddess has made him consent to a truce"[17]. Aelian reports that wild goats were plentiful near her temple on the island of Icarus in the Persian Gulf: to have success in catching them, the hunters must first pray to the goddess[18].

The domestic goat also played its part in myths connected with Artemis. The *aetion* legend for the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera outside Aigeira links the goddess (under this specific title) with the goat, and both of them with deliverance in war, an association consistent with the goat-sacrifices made to her in Athens and in Sparta. When attacked by the Sikyonians, the citizens tied torches onto the horns of a flock of goats, and lit them at night, so deceiving the enemy into believing that these were the fires of allies come to aid the city. The Sikyonians therefore abandoned their attack, and the people founded the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera where the most beautiful of the goats had lain down - this honouring the goddess for the delivery of Aigeira[19].

The custom of sacrificing goats at Mounychia also had its *aetion*. It began, like the Brauronian *Arkteia*, with the killing of a bear sacred to the goddess. Artemis sent a plague to punish the Athenians, and would only be propitiated by the sacrifice of a girl in the Mounychian sanctuary to which the bear had belonged. But Embaros, who offered his own daughter in return for a permanent family priesthood, saved her from the sacrifice by dressing up a goat in the girl's clothes. For this reason, goats were always sacrificed to Artemis at Mounychia[20]. We have already seen that both the bear and the deer play a part in myths of substitution for sacrifices to Artemis. Another legend, in which a goat also takes the place of a girl, though in a rather more indirect way, is told by Antoninus Liberalis about the city of Melitea

in Phthiotis. The girl, Aspalis, hanged herself in order to preserve her virginity; but her body disappeared, and instead her statue appeared in the temple of Artemis, beside that of the goddess. Every year the maidens hung on it a young and virgin she-goat in sacrifice to Artemis[21]. Here the hanged goat enacts the part of the hanged virgin, who in her purity was herself a type of Artemis; and such a substitution may hint at the idea of a goat-deity like that suggested by Cook with reference to Athena.

Reminiscent of the Mounychia and Aspalis legends about Artemis is Pausanias' story of a goat being sacrificed to Dionysos in substitution for a human victim[22]. In fact literary evidence shows that among the male deities it is Dionysos who is closest to the goat, the relationship being manifested in the goat-footed and ithyphallic Pans and satyrs of his train; and there are tales of Dionysos himself taking the form of a goat[23]. The *Dedicatory Epigrams* support the special claims of Artemis and Dionysos to the goat, by commemorating its sacrifice only to these two, among the Olympian gods[24].

(iii) *Titles derived from the goat*

Finally while it is true that titles of Zeus and Hera show them to be goat-eaters, at least upon occasion, and that Aphrodite Epitragia sits upon a goat, it is Artemis under her titles of Knakalesia, Knakeatis, Knagea and Aiginaia[25], and Dionysos who was sometimes called Eriphios[26], whose epithets identify them most closely with the animal itself, and may look back to the goat-shaped deities of a primitive age[27]. Nilsson related Artemis' titles to her cult as a nature-goddess; and went on to mention that the orgiastic rituals performed for goat-Artemis were also part of Dionysiac cults[28].

The evidence offered by literature about the fairly complex role of the goat in cults of Artemis is fuller and more specific than the references to its relationship with other deities, and suggests a closer association. It now remains to consider how far literary evidence is consistent with the material presence of goats (both their images, and their physical remains) in sanctuaries.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Evidence of goat-sacrifice: bones and sacrificial scenes

Horns or bones of goats have been reported at ten of the sanctuaries under discussion: four of Artemis, three of Apollo, two of Demeter, and one of Poseidon. Horns, in particular, were discovered at five of these sites, all of which belonged either to Apollo or to Artemis; and their presence suggests a cult associated with the story of the Delian *keraton*, and Artemis' hunting of the goats necessary for the building of the altar. At Dreros, a large number of goat-horns were found not merely scattered at random, but inside the altar itself. The literary evidence of goat-sacrifice to Artemis is borne out by the presence of their bones not only beneath her Archaic temple at Delos, where the goddess hunted them on Mt. Cynthos; but also by the numerous bones and horns discovered round the altar at Ephesos (where they were evidently the most commonly sacrificed animal) and at Thasos; while the kid-bones found at the Archaic altar of the Kalapodi sanctuary are at least consistent with the excavator's opinion that Artemis was worshipped there. The only sanctuaries in this study where representations of goat-sacrifice came to light also belonged to Artemis. One fourth century marble relief of such a ritual is at Brauron, and two, appropriately, were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Locheia, on the very slopes of Mt. Cynthos in Delos.

Only three of the ten sanctuaries which produced material evidence of goat-sacrifice did not belong to Artemis or Apollo. Since Athena alone is known to have rejected such victims, the presence of their bones at Isthmia and Cnidus is no surprise. But it is of some interest that scarcely any of those at Demeter's Knossos sanctuary date from after the Geometric period, when pigs became the principal sacrificial victims; whereas their bones are by far the most common species both in the Minoan and in the Geometric periods. It allows the possibility that the Cretan deity worshipped at this shrine did not assume the character of Olympian Demeter until after the Geometric period.

(ii) Representations of goats in sanctuaries

The sanctuaries under examination have yielded at least 100 representations of goats alone. It is not possible to be more exact, mainly because the number of lead figurines from Artemis Orthia is rarely specified in Dawkins' publication: there are illustrations there of five Archaic types of goat in lead,but these types may have been represented by more than one example. One bronze he-goat from a vessel is recorded in the Isthmian sanctuary, but in the museum of the site more than one bronze goat-figurine is visible. In addition to these representations of separate goats, a few limestone and terracotta figures of men (and some women) carrying goats came to light in certain sanctuaries. The distinction between the wild and the domestic goat is not altogether clear: thus Marinatos, in his account of an incised stone depicting goats from Apollo's sanctuary at Dreros, cannot be sure whether the
32 subject is a wild-goat hunt, or an attack on a domestic herd[29]. But some descriptions give a definite label of wild goat (or ibex) to a

particular representation. Of the 100 or more artefacts listed here, twenty-two have been specifically interpreted as representing the wild and not the domestic animal; none of these is later than the Archaic period, and three (on engraved stones) are Mycenean. Indeed, the great majority of all the goat-representations date from the Archaic period, except when they are Geometric (as five of the examples from Olympia). Only three (and one goat-carrier from Lindos) date from the fifth century; while the *stele* from the Diktynnaion is evidently a third century work (although if it depicts a real building decorated with goat-*akroteria*, this may well be older than the *stele*). The few goats appearing as sacrificial victims or otherwise in company with Artemis, however, date from the fifth, fourth and third centuries BC.

Of the representations of goats.in isolation from divine or human companions twenty-five or more (including three ibexes) were dedicated to Artemis, and six (also including three ibexes) to Aphaia,who was generally identified with her. Twenty-one goats were dedicated in sanctuaries of Athena, including six ibexes. Most of these images were found in the sanctuary at Lindos, which also produced about thirty Archaic males carrying or holding goats and one female goat-carrier. Dorothea Brooke believed that at least one of the animals carried by six Late Archaic terracotta females from the Acropolis of Athens may also have been a kid[30]; and the terracotta goddess with the wild-goat on her skirt was found in another Acropolis sanctuary of Athena, at Gortyn. About twenty goats were found in sanctuaries of Zeus, while Hera received twenty-seven, including nine ibexes - the great majority being oriental artefacts found in her Samian shrine. A few figurines of goats were found at the Isthmian sanctuary, where their bones also came to light; but in spite of the presence of goat-

bones at Cnidus and Knossos, no representations of the animal were reported from the sanctuaries of Demeter considered in this study. Only five goat-representations, too, have been reported from the sanctuaries of Apollo, although the large number of horns discovered at Dreros and Halieis indicate that goats were of some importance in his cult.

(iii) Commentary on the distribution of goat-representations

1. Zeus and Hera:

The greater part of the goat-representations dedicated in sanctuaries of Zeus were found at Olympia, where they may have been dedicated either to the patron god, or to any of the deities whose altars stood in and around the Altis. Like most of these, Zeus was a recipient of goats in sacrifice and the small bronze figurines may represent sacrificial victims. But whatever its status as a victim, the goat can scarcely be regarded as a favourite *motif* among the animal figurines dedicated at Olympia. The twelve examples in bronze of the Geometric and Archaic periods are greatly out-numbered by both cattle and horses; while apparently no terracotta goats at all were discovered in the sanctuary [31].

The story of Herakles' sacrifice to Spartan Hera implies that usually she had no association with this animal, so the twenty-seven representations found in her sanctuaries examined here need some comment. Five were found at Perachora, and two ibex at the Argive Heraion. None of these were figurines, but decorative reliefs on small objects like seals, scarabs and buttons. But the remaining twenty were all dedicated in the sanctuary of Samos, and the great majority of these were foreign imports, especially Hittite bronzes. The only two independent figurines were two terracotta he-goats of the sixth

century, from Cyprus; the Hittite goats served as handles, sceptre-heads, and small decorative engravings on horse-blinkers. It seems that the goat, or goat's head, was a favourite Hittite *motif*, suitable perhaps for dedication to a *potnia theron*, as Samian Hera had been from very early times[32], but probably not specially made for her, or not for Olympian Hera as she was generally worshipped in Greece. At the same time, it is always possible that the goat-dedications (especially the Cypriot terracottas) may have been offered to Aphrodite or Hermes[33], whose joint cult is known to have been established in the sanctuary by the late seventh or early sixth century[34].

2. Athena:

Cook's theory that Athena was once a goat-shaped goddess, reasonable though it sounds, cannot be supported either by literary evidence or with a personal epithet evoking the animal's shape, like those applied to Artemis. If it were correct, it might explain the relatively large number of goat-representations offered to Athena; and at the same time reconcile the apparent inconsistency that most of these were found in the Lindian sanctuary, where no-one who had lately eaten goat's flesh was allowed to enter. Yet deities do not commonly refuse the sacrifice of animals with which they are identified; and I find it difficult to accept that the theory of a goat-shaped Athena is the most likely explanation for the goats in the Lindian sanctuary.

Blinkenberg believed that Lindia was a Mycenean goddess (though the supposition is not confirmed by an significant material remains on the site itself)[35]; and I have suggested that as a fertility-goddess and *potnia theron* she became identified with Athena only because her rock sanctuary became (or remained in historic times) an Acropolis[36].

Goats were evidently sacrificed in some number to Minoan and Mycenean goddesses, as the early remains of goats at the Knossos sanctuary of Demeter show. One Mycenean gem actually depicts a he-goat or ibex on the sacrificial altar[37]; while another, a sardonyx from Elis, is engraved with a female in a full skirt holding a he-goat (which stands on its hind-legs) by the horn[38]. As far as I know, there is no surviving Archaic *potnia* flanked by two goats in the heraldic manner; but one sixth-century haematite scarab from Aegina shows a winged goddess holding a he-goat and a lion by their hind-legs, in each hand; while another Archaic scarab depicts the goddess, unwinged and running, holding a deer and a hare - while beneath her is a he-goat[39]. From a much later period, we have a silver (Roman) medallion from Herculaneum on which is represented the head of Artemis (identifiable by parts of her bow and quiver) with a he-goat springing from either side of her neck; and this *motif* may reflect the survival of an ancient tradition: the cult of a goat-goddess[40].

Only the foreparts of the heraldic goats are represented on the Herculaneum medallion; and it is notable that (apart from the Cypriot limestone goat-carriers) the most common type of goat-representation found in the Lindian sanctuary is the seventh-century bronze pendant
31 in the form of a double goat-protome. The pendants may well be a shorthand version of the *potnia theron* flanked by goats like that seen on the silver medallion. There is a parallel for this kind of abbreviation at Artemis Orthia, where the goddess' head appears on ivory and..
38 terracotta pendants between two horses' heads, but where there are also several types of double horse-head pendants in lead, without the female head[41]. I believe we may take it that the Lindian goddess received goat-representations even though Athena did not accept their sacrifice,

because she was not originally Athena, but a *potnia theron* of the Cretan type. In this case the Cypriot limestone goat-carriers which cannot reflect contemporary sacrificial practice in the sanctuary, could still have been regarded as appropriate dedications[42]. Whether or not this older goddess could once have taken the form of a goat (according to Cook's theory about Athena in Attica) can hardly be deduced from the existing evidence. The goddess of Gortyn, to whom the seventh century *pinax* depicting a wild goat was offered, and whose daedalic skirt (on a figurine) was also decorated with a painted goat, is another instance of the Cretan *potnia* who became identified with Athena because of her position on an Acropolis. Even on the Acropolis of Athens the goddess may have had a similar history; but in this sanctuary there is the alternative possibility that the Archaic bronze goats and the ibex *patera*-handle were dedicated to Artemis Brauronia.

3. Apollo and Artemis:

The two bronze goats which struck Pausanias' eye in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, have not survived; and only five of the smaller, and mostly Archaic goat-representations which I have been considering were dedicated in sanctuaries of Apollo. I believe that this may be because Apollo's association with goats, well established by Pausanias' day, originally came about through the cults in which he was linked with Artemis. The horns with which the god built himself an altar in Delos were supplied by his sister, who shot the wild goats on Mt. Cynthos. At Dreros, the Geometric Cretan hill-top sanctuary where so many horns of young goats were found inside and outside the altar,
32 and where the possible goat-hunting scene was discovered, there is reason to suppose that Artemis and Leto were worshipped as well as

Apollo[43]. It has also been suggested that Artemis had a temple in Apollo's sanctuary at Thermon, where kid-bones were found in Megaron B[44]. Even the bronze figurine from Delphi, which may also depict a hunt, since the goat is being attacked by a dog, could have been dedicated to Artemis, who is known to have been worshipped in the sanctuary[45]. The same *motif* of dogs attacking goats may have adorned the pediment
33 of Artemis Diktynna's temple in Crete, judging by the *stele*-engraving found in that sanctuary.

The estimate of twenty-five for the number of goats (not including those represented with deities or humans) found in sanctuaries of Artemis is a conservative one, in view of the uncertain quantity of lead figurines from Artemis Orthia. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that it is exceeded by the numbers dedicated in Zeus and Hera sanctuaries (the vast majority respectively in Olympia and Samos), I believe it does reflect the special association of Artemis with the goat which emerges from literary evidence, and which may be expressed in some of her titles. It is significant, moreover, that out of all the dedications considered here, the only ones which represent the goat with a deity are from her sanctuaries, and represent her. The fourth century reliefs from Delos and Brauron depict sacrificial scenes, with the goat as victim. But the fifth-century relief from Brauron shows Artemis in an appropriate role for this sanctuary, as the loving protectress of the mother
34 goat and its young. A fourth or third century terracotta figurine in which the goddess holds a he-goat, came from her Scala Greca sanctuary in Sicily; and the third century *stele* from the Cretan Diktynnaion, depicting the pediment with the two hunted goats, also represents the goddess with a goat standing more companionably beside her[46]. Incidentally, Artemis' temple at Brauron, like that of the Diktynnaion,

may have included the goat *motif* among its decorations; for a marble goat's head found on the site was tentatively identified by Papadimitriou as an *akroterion*.

By the fifth century, if not before, the goat had evidently become a special attribute of Artemis. Thus the silver Roman medallion of the goat-goddess represents the goddess of hunting: the bow and quiver put this beyond doubt. We cannot be certain whether the winged *potnia* on an Archaic Corinthian ivory plaque from Syracuse is Artemis or not; on this plaque, a goat stands behind the winged goddess, as though protected by her, and Orsi confidently names the deity as Artemis Knagia, although she is not depicted with bow or quiver[47]. If his assertion were correct, it would mean that the goat was seen as a companion or attribute of Artemis as early as the Archaic period.

C. Conclusion

As a hunted animal, the goat would naturally be associated with the goddess of hunting. But the religious significance of the domestic, as well as the wild goat, probably lay in its sexual power and its fertility[48]. In historic times, these characteristics linked it with Aphrodite and Dionysos, as well as Artemis. He-goats, like satyrs, are often represented as ithyphallic, and from Artemis Orthia, the sanctuary of a fertility goddess where a number of goat-figurines and engravings were dedicated, came about seventy handmade terracotta men who are ithyphallic, and may represent satyrs[49]. But the potency of the goat, whether wild or domestic, had probably been significant in the Cretan religion of the Bronze Age. Goats were clearly associated with and sacrificed to Minoan and Mycenean deities; and they continued to serve as victims for all the Olympian gods with the exception of Athena. The

Minoan or Mycenean goat-goddess apparently survived for a time on the Lindian Acropolis (as well as in Gortyn) and possibly in the Samian Heraion. But in general her more permanent heirs were Aphrodite, sometimes called *Epitragia* and shown seated on a goat; and perhaps even more particularly Artemis, three or four of whose titles probably stress the association, and whose temples at Brauron and at the Diktynnaion were possibly decorated by goat-*akroteria*. Finally, the presence of goats' horns and bones has been recorded in four of Artemis' sanctuaries, while their images (including scenes in which the goddess also appears) have come to light in ten. Fewer sanctuaries belonging to other deities have produced either remains or representations of goats; and I believe that their distribution reflects that closer association of the goat with Artemis which is suggested by literary evidence.

1. Nikander. Fragment 99. For goat-sacrifice to Zeus, see Lucian, *Timon* 9.

2. Pausanias III. 15.9.

3. For example, Antoninus Liberalis XX.2; Xenophon, *Hellenica* VI. 4.29; Pausanias X. 11.4.

4. Plutarch. *Theseus*. 18.

5. *API* VI. 134. *cf* Herondas. *Mimes*. VIII. 67-68. and Pausanias IX. 8.1.

6. Xenophon. *Anabasis*. III. 2.11-12; Plutarch. *Moralia*. 862.A-C.

7. Xenophon. *Hellenica*. IV. 11.20. *cf Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* XIII.8.

8. Eustathius. *Iliad*. II.732. A second century inscription for the *hieron* of Delos refers to the *aigoi* and *tragoi* (she-goats and he-goats) offered to Artemis and to Apollo there. [*BCH* 6 (1882) p. 34, no. 49].

9. *API* VI.157.

10. Athenaeus 587A.

11. *IG* XII. I.789.10. *Lindos* I. p. 12.

12. *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 150.

13. Callimachus. *Hymn to Zeus*. 49; Diodorus. V. 70.3; Strabo (387) tells a similar story of Zeus and a goat of Aegium in Sicily.

14. Pausanias. X. 16.3; II. 26.4 and 7.

15. Callimachus. *Hymn to Apollo*. 60-63.

16. Pausanias. VI. 25.1. See *Lexic* II. "Aphrodite" 947-976, for vase-paintings, figurines and medals with the same *motif*.

17. *API* VI. 121.

18. Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. XI. 1.

19. Pausanias. VII. 26.2-4.

20. Eustathius. *Iliad*. II.732.

21. Antoninus Liberalis. XIII. 6 & 7.

22. Pausanias. IX. 8.1.

23. e.g. Apollodorus. III. IV.3; Antoninus Liberalis. XXVIII.3; Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. V. 330.

24. Two of the epigrams (nos. 32 and 99) record goat-sacrifices to Pan.

25. The interpretation of "Κναξ" is uncertain. It has been suggested that it derives from the Doric word "tawny", an epithet applied by Theocritus to a goat-skin and to a he-goat (*Idylls*. VII.16; III.5]. Hence F.G. Welcker's interpretation of these titles as "goat-Artemis" (see Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. III. p. 348).

26. See Hesychius' gloss on this word.

27. Cook cites a Minoan serpentine seal which depicts a goat's forepart, joined to a man's legs. [*JHS* 14 (1894) p. 150, Fig. 20].

28. Nilsson. *Griechische Feste*. p. 231.

29. *BCH* 60 (1936) p. 279.

30. *Catalogue* II pp. 371-2. The report in *AA* 8 (1893), p. 146, identifies the animals as fawns, and the females as Artemis (Figs. 23-24, and 26-27). D. Brooke thinks that although one of them may be a fawn of Artemis, most were probably kids.

31. The proportion of cattle and horses to goats is very much more weighted during the Geometric period. In comparison to three goat-figurines, 474 cattle and 440 horses are catalogued by W.D. Heilmeyer in *OlForsch* XII.

32. Hans Walter. *Das Heraion von Samos. Ursprung und Wandel eines grechischen Heiligtums*. Munich and Zurich. 1976, p. 15.

33. Hermes is a herd-god, and like Aphrodite, is sometimes depicted as riding on a goat. (A.B. Cook in *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 51).

34. Walter. *Op. cit.* p. 56.

35. *Lindos* I. pp. 9, and 61-66.

36. See above, p. 58.

37. G.E. Mylonas. *Mycene and the Mycenean Age*. Princeton. 1966. Fig. 125.34.

38. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Pl. 2.27. In his commentary, Furtwängler identifies the female as either Aphrodite or Artemis.

39. *Ibid* Pl. 7.51 and 50. The author identifies both females as Artemis.

40. W.H.R. Roscher. *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig. 1884-1937. Vol. I.566.

41. See Appendix 8.12.

42. In three of the limestone groups, the goat stands on his hind-legs, as on the Mycenean sardonyx [1761-3].

43. Three *sphyrelaton* statuettes (*c.* 700 BC), two of which were female, stood on the altar containing the goat-horns (*BCH* 60 (1936) Pl. 63. John Boardman. *Greek Sculpture: the archaic period; a handbook*. London. 1978, Fig. 16.)

44. See above, p. 120.

45. See Introduction, note 23.

46. Christou went so far as to identify the animal accompanying the winged goddess on a fragmentary sixth-century ivory plaque dedicated to Artemis Orthia, as a goat (*Potnia theron* p. 130); but Dawkins believed it to be a horse, and the general shape of the animal, with its apparently uncloven hoofs, is more consistent with this interpretation (*AO* p. 214, Pl. 107.1).

47. *NSc* 1895 pp. 119-20; *Lexlc* II. "Artemis" 56.

48. *RE* 10A (1972) 420-421.

49. *AO* p. 156, Pl. 40.1-7, and 9-10.

HARES (*See Appendix 8.11*)

The hare is a *motif* which rarely takes the form of a separate figurine. It sometimes decorates a scarab, seal or disc; and more commonly it gives its shape to a plastic vase, or decorates the rim of a mirror. However, the fact that it also appears as the pet or the sacrificial victim of some female figurines, means that it should not be excluded from a study of animal-representations in sanctuaries.

A. Literary evidence

(i) Hares as sacrificial victims

I have found no information in literature on the sacrifice of hares. Presumably these small animals, like birds, were of less account than the richer offerings of cattle, sheep or goats. Yet their appearance in the arms of statues or terracotta figurines dedicated in a few sanctuaries may (sometimes, at least) have had a sacrificial meaning. No doubt they were thrown onto the fire of Artemis Laphria at Patras, with the other live victims, but Pausanias does not include hares in his list of wild animals sacrificed in this way. However, the archaeological evidence of their bones indicates that they were sacrificed in the sanctuary of Mt. Kotilon. The bones were found in the North temple, which Kourouniotis thought belonged to Artemis[1]. They were also apparently consumed inside the sanctuary of Athena Lindia.

(ii) Mythology and anecdote

As a wild animal, the target of the hunter's arrow, one would expect the hare to be associated with Artemis. It is mentioned by Aelian (as the wild goat is) as a numerous inhabitant of the country round her

temple on the island of Icarus, to be hunted only by her favour[2]. In her capacity of huntress, Artemis may have been given the title of "lagobolos"; at least, in the second line of Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* she is described as one who loves the slaughter of hares ("lagobolia"). It is not inconsistent with the ways of hunting that she should also protect their young. Xenophon notes that new-born hares which were caught by the hunters were not killed, but left to the goddess[3]; and in the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera described by Philostratus there were hares (as well as deer) which grazed there without fear of man[4]. The hare also has a part in Pausanias' account of the foundation-myth for the city of Boiai in Laconia[5]. The people had been told in a prophecy that Artemis would show them where to live; and when they landed on the Laconian coast they caught sight of a hare, followed it, and built their city where it disappeared under a myrtle-bush. For this reason, in Pausanias' day, the Boiaians still worshipped Artemis Soteira. Sam Wide questions the accuracy of Pausanias' account, suspecting that he may have meant Aphrodite, not Artemis; since the hare and the myrtle are commonly held to be her attributes[6]. Certainly the special association of myrtles with Aphrodite is widely attested[7]; and it is always possible that Pausanias wrote down the wrong name. At the same time this plant is also sometimes associated with Hekate, who is closer to Artemis than to other Olympian goddesses. In some coins of Pherai, for example, Hekate (or Enodia) is shown wearing a myrtle-wreath[8]. Literature does not to my knowledge provide evidence of any specific myth linking Aphrodite with the hare; although by the time of Philostratus (who wrote in the second or third century AD) the association was clearly recognized. Philostratus describes a picture in which Erotes chase a hare in order to present it (living) to the goddess; to whom (he

explains) it will be an agreeable offering because of its lasciviousness and fecundity[9]. Philostratus' work consists of a series of descriptions of pictures - and it may be that Aphrodite's association with the hare was expressed visually rather than in terms of myth - for example, on wedding-rings engraved with hares, or in representations (like Philostratus' picture) of Erotes playing with the animals[10]. Such artefacts are generally of Roman date, and their symbolism seems more likely to have been based on a simple observation of nature (the hare's fertility) than on any religious connection with the goddess of love. And in Greek religion, fertility was not the exclusive concern of Aphrodite. Finally, Pausanias specifically links his tale with the worship of Artemis Soteira, and it is more probable that Artemis, and not Aphrodite, should have been given this title[11].

B. Representations of hares in sanctuaries

(i) Separate hares

Only seven figurines of hares are recorded from the sanctuaries under discussion: one terracotta dedicated to Aphaia; three bronzes from Olympia, one from the Athenian Acropolis, and one from Dodona; and a paste figurine from the Argive Heraion. All these were dedicated in the Geometric or Archaic periods. But over twenty hare-shaped vases were also found in the sanctuaries. Eight of these were offered to Aphaia, at least four to Athena[12], four to Hera, at least two to Apollo, and one in the Kalapodi sanctuary. Artemis scarcely seems to figure in either of these groups of dedications, though we may assume that the Kalapodi vase belonged to her. However, some lead rings with a hare on their bezel were dedicated to Artemis Orthia (a Laconian deity like the Boiaian Soteira), perhaps in her role as fertility goddess

on the occasion of a marriage; and at least one bone seal from the same sanctuary bore this *motif*. Artemis could also have been the recipient of the Acropolis bronze, and the hare-shaped lamps from the Maleatas sanctuary; and it is not impossible that two of the Olympia hares were dedicated at her altars[13]. But it is undeniable that these data, limited as they are, throw little light on any association there may be between the hare and the Olympian gods. The hare-vases were a pleasing shape, and could apparently be dedicated in the sanctuary of any deity. One point of interest, however, is that eight out of the twenty listed had survived (wholly or in part) in the sanctuary of Aphaia, which also yielded a terracotta figurine. An Archaic brick from this site was stamped twice with the *motif* of a running hare: so it is possible that the animal had a special relationship with the goddess of this sanctuary. Aphaia, like her close associate Artemis, was a huntress, so the Archaic steatite cylinder seal representing a hare chased by a hound, would have been an appropriate dedication for her.

(ii) Hares with females

Perhaps more significant in religious terms than separate representations of the hare are the images of females who actually hold the creature; although their significance may be qualified by the fact that nearly all of them were found in the same place. All but two are made of terracotta, the exceptions being the fourth century marble statuette of a little girl, an *arktos*, from Brauron; and an Archaic marble *kore* from the Samian Heraion. The great majority of the terracottas were found at Kanoni in Corcyra where the attributes held by a number of the figurines discovered there make it clear that this was a sanctuary of Artemis. At least fifty of the terracottas from this site

carry hares. Not all need have represented Artemis: in fact it was Lechat's opinion that hares, like flowers and birds, were not in themselves significant attributes[14], and some of the figurines which held them may have been intended to represent worshippers at the sanctuary, holding their offering[15]. But four of them hold a bow, and three hold
44 a lion as well as their hare - indications that they represent the goddess; while the twenty large terracottas which hold a bird as well as the hare, and are exactly like others where the animal is a deer, are also considered by Lechat to represent Artemis. Two large figurines where the hare leaps from the shoulder to the arm of its mistress, and twenty others where it is held by its front paws, may also be interpreted as the goddess protecting the animal, rather than as a worshipper bringing her offering. Eight more hare-carrying terracotta females were reported from the sanctuaries considered here. Five were from Artemis' sanctuary at Scala Greca in Sicily, where judging by the quiver worn by the most complete of the females, the hare-holders again represented the goddess herself. All the Scala Greca hares are held upside down in the goddess' grasp, as if they were the spoils of the hunt, rather than a protected creature as in the Kanoni figurines. One female hare-holder came to light in each of Demeter's sanctuaries of Knossos and Halicarnassus; while one possible example (together with a number of fragments of similar figurines) was recorded at the Argive Heraion.

Of the seven sanctuaries known to me which produced hare-carrying females, three belonged to Artemis. At Kanoni, where the figurines hold a variety of animals, at least fifty of these animals are hares, and it seems that forty-seven of the females were supposed to represent the goddess; while at Scala Greca, too, the guise of the females is clearly that of a huntress and goddess, not a worshipper.

Limited though the data may be in terms of the number of sanctuaries which produced this *motif*, it allows us to conclude that by the early fifth century, the hare might be represented as an attribute of Artemis. It could also apparently be depicted as a worshipper's offering in sanctuaries of Artemis (where its appearance is consistent with the presence of hare-bones on Mt. Kotilon), but also in those of other goddesses, although for these, the evidence is slight indeed. It is rash to conclude from the evidence of only two or three sanctuaries that the hare was an attribute more proper to Artemis than to other deities, but at least this possibility cannot be excluded.

C. The hare and the Archaic *potnia theron*

Lechat dated the hare-holding figurines of Artemis and her worshippers from Kanoni to the fifth century, although they were rather Archaic in style[16]. The Samian *kore*, which was made in about 570 BC, is the earliest certain example of the type to be considered here, since the animal carried by the Early Archaic figurine from the Argive Heraion cannot be identified with certainty as a hare. In any case, the *motif* of goddess and hare was clearly not a fifth-century innovation; for although I know of no Bronze Age example, the hare was sometimes represented as an attribute of the Archaic *potnia theron*. The winged goddess on the handle of the Grächwil *hydria* is accompanied by an eagle, four lions and two snakes; but she also holds a hare by its hind-legs, while another sits with one paw raised to her skirt[17]. Thus she seems to be at once the scourge and the protectress of the hare: a role which is consistent with that of Artemis in later times. But the Grächwil goddess cannot certainly be equated with Artemis, any more than the *potnia theron* on the eighth century Boeotian *amphora*[18], or the seventh

century Boeotian coffer[19]; on both of which the hare, as well as the deity, is seen, though not in such proximity to the goddess as on the Grächwil *hydria*.

The hare was well-known in antiquity for its fertility[20], and it is as a symbol of the *potnia's* dominion over the earth and the reproduction of humans and animals alike, that Christou interprets it[21]. Christou also sees the caryatid-handles of a number of sixth and fifth century bronze mirrors, the rims of whose discs are decorated with figurines of cocks, hares and dogs or foxes, as representations of *potniai theron*[22]; and he points out that the caryatids of mirrors thus decorated with hares are always clothed, whereas some other mirror-handle females are naked. Since nakedness was an indication of fertility in a goddess, he sees the hare-decoration as an alternative symbol for this property. Personally, I do not believe that these mirror-caryatids are in close enough physical association with the figurines on the disc, to be convincing representations of the *potnia theron*. The small running hares and hounds make a convenient frieze-like decoration for the rim of the disc; and in this artistic context the animals may have had little symbolic significance. The hares on the Grächwil *hydria*, however, are more convincing as a fertility-symbol; since they are shown under the direct control and protection of the deity.

The association of the hare with fertility certainly explains its links with Aphrodite; but as we have seen, Artemis, too, inherited the *potnia's* power over reproduction, as well as her control of the beasts. As early as the seventh century, the *potnia theron* and the hare on the Boeotian coffer are represented within the context of the hunt; and when Artemis emerged as the Olympian goddess of hunting, as well as the protectress of wild animals, the hare would continue to be

one of her natural attributes. The goddess of a sixth century carnelian scaraboid, who is shown running and holding both a deer and a hare (while a he-goat stands beneath the group) has been interpreted by Furtwängler as Artemis[23]. Certainly, the deer was to become Artemis' closest attribute, and it may be that by the sixth century, this type of *potnia* was already thought of as Artemis. If so, it shows that the hare, though far less commonly represented with her than the deer, or even the lion, had a history of continuous association with this goddess.

D. Conclusion

Separate representations of hares (except in the form of vases) have been found only in small numbers at the sanctuaries examined in this study; and their distribution gives us little indication of their relationship with particular deities. Literature, too, is scarcely informative, though the hare is mentioned with reference to Artemis' temple in Icarus and to her cult as saviour goddess of Boiai as well as to a painting of Aphrodite with Erotes. But as some representations of the Archaic *potnia theron* show, the hare was not devoid of religious associations; and the female with the hare continued in classical and Hellenistic times to be a *motif* which could appropriately be dedicated in sanctuaries. The sanctuaries known to me where this type of figurine has been found are also few in number; so the fact that more of them (and by far the majority of the figurines in question) belonged to Artemis than to other deities, may be the result of pure chance. But at least it shows that the hare was indeed associated with this goddess, and not only as a sacrificial victim; and it is even consistent with the possibility that the hare was associated with Artemis more than with other deities. In this case, I believe it is unnecessary to explain

Pausanias' account of the role of Artemis and the hare in the foundation of Boiai as a mistake. According to the evidence of the votive offerings which I have discussed, it is perfectly credible that she should use her creature, the hare, as a messenger and guide to men.

Footnotes

1. *AE* 1903. pp. 186-188.
2. Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. XI.9.
3. Xenophon. *Cynegeticus*. V.14.
4. Philostratus. *Imagines*. I. 28.6.
5. Pausanias III. 22.12.
6. Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. p. 122.
7. *RE* 16.1 (1933). 1180-1181.
8. P.G Gardner. *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Thessaly to Aetolia*. (BM) London 1883. p. 47, Pl. 10, 11 & 13; p. 48, Pl. 10. 15 & 16.
9. *Imagines* I. 6.5.
10. Keller. *Die Antike Tierwelt*. Vol. I. p. 216.
11. According to Pausanias, Artemis was worshipped with the epithet of Soteira in the following cities: Megara (I. 40.2); Pellene (VII. 27.1); Troizen (II. 31.1); Megalopolis (VIII. 30.10); and Phigalia (VIII. 39.5); whereas this author makes no reference to an Aphrodite Soteira.
12. The number of hare-vases found at her Sounion sanctuary is unspecified in the reports.
13. One came from the Prytaneion (*Olympia*. IV. p. 153) beside which she had three altars (see Figure 1, nos. 60, 62 and 65); and one from the area west of the Echo colonnade (*OlForsch* XII. 929) where an altar to Artemis and Alpheios once stood (Figure 1, no. 9).
14. *BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 30-31, 43.
15. *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

16. *Ibid.* pp. 94-5.

17. Hoenn. *Artemis.* Pl. I (opposite p. 48).

18. O. Kern. "Elfenbeinen aus Kleinasien". *AM* 50 (1925) p. 160, Fig. 1.

19. J. Boehlau. "Böotischen Vasen". *JdI* 3 (1888) p. 357.

20. *RE* 7.2 (19i2) 2483.

21. *Potnia Theron* pp. 53-4.

22. Fifteen such mirrors are described in Congdon's *Caryatid mirrors of Ancient Greece* (nos. 43, 46, 48, 51, 55, 64, 65, 68, 69, 74, 83, 85, 87, 89 and 90).

23. *Die Antiken Gemmen.* Vol. I. Pl. 7.50; Vol. II. p. 35.

HORSES *(See Appendix 8.12)*

A. Literary evidence

(i) Sacrifice and dedication

Pausanias relates that in antiquity (though not apparently in his time) the Argives used to sacrifice bridled and bitted horses to Poseidon, by throwing them into an underground river which led to the sea[1]; and even in Pausanias' own day, horses were sacrificed to Helios on Mt Taygetos[2]. On one occasion, too, horses were sacrificed by Hippolytus to Asklepios at Epidaurus[3]. But these are Pausanias' only references to such a custom, and it seems that the sacrifice of horses to the gods was comparatively rare. One of the Dedicatory Epigrams records that a horse was offered to Zeus "in memory of the might of its legs", but it is possible that a statue, and not a real horse was meant[4]. The sacrifice of horses to the dead, however, was a custom known since Homeric times: Achilles threw four of them onto Patroclus' funeral pyre[5]. They have been discovered in tombs (for instance, at Lefkandi[6]); and the horses and horses' heads sometimes to be seen in funerary reliefs may reflect the sacrificial custom[7].

Certainly, there is no lack of evidence in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* for the dedication of horse-statues in sanctuaries, especially at Olympia; according to his account, the Altis must have been crowded with their bronze and marble effigies. Most of these (sometimes accompanied by their riders, or harnessed to chariots) were dedicated to Zeus in order to celebrate a victory in the races held there[8]; and often their names were recorded. But horses were also set up in sanctuaries as thank-offerings for success in war[9]: for this reason, the Argives sent the chariot of Amphiaros to Delphi; and Kallias of

Athens, the people of Tarentum and the Pheraians all sent statues of horses and riders there[10]. One of the Dedicatory Epigrams is from an inscription which once stood on the Acropolis of Athens with some statues of the horses belonging to Boeotians and Chalkidians vanquished by the Athenians[11].

(ii) Horses and the gods in mythology

(a) Poseidon

Of all the Olympian deities, Poseidon is the most closely associated with horses; and in his sway over them, they are in turn associated with the sea, their manes with its white foam. A young man who had dived into the sea to save a girl from being sacrificed to Poseidon, claimed on his return that while underneath the waves, he had actually fed the horses of the god[12]. It is Poseidon whose task it was to unharness Zeus' horses on Olympus[13]; and it was by his name that Menelaus insisted Antilochus should swear to his own fair play in a chariot race[14]. Pausanias refers to a number of cities and shrines where Poseidon was worshipped with the epithet of Hippios[15]; and notes that it was one of his universal titles (the other two being Pelagaios, and Asphalios)[16]. Pausanias believed that the god had acquired his title because he had invented horsemanship; but Arcadian myths recounted by the writer himself suggest that Poseidon was once a horse-shaped deity, and that "Hippios" reflects this origin. When Rhea gave birth to him, she saved his life by telling Kronos that the baby was a horse, and giving him a foal to swallow in its place[17]. Later, when Demeter had changed herself into a mare to escape his amorous pursuit, he coupled with her in the shape of a stallion, and of their union were born Despoina and a horse called Areion[18]. The other, more famous horse-shaped son of Poseidon was Pegasos, whose mother was Medusa[19].

It was in Arcadia that horses were sacrificed to Poseidon, and they were sacrificed by means of an underground river which led to the sea. Frazer has pointed out that in many cultures, horses were sacrificed to the spirits of seas or rivers[20]. In cultures other than Greece, too, the gods of storm and water were horse-shaped[21], so that there is a link between the shape of the spirit or god, and the kind of animal offered to it. Nilsson referred to the horse as "das Tier der Gewässer"[22]; and it is clear from Pausanias' description of monuments, that Pegasos was specially associated with springs and fountains. In Corinth, water was made to flow from his hoof[23], and it seems that there was a similar fountain at Troizen. Both commemorated the legend that when Pegasos first touched the earth with his foot on Mt Helikon, water gushed from the ground, and the fountain of Hippocrene came into being[24]. The waters of Hippocrene rose from beneath the earth; so that in this legend there is a suggestion that the horse may be in some measure associated with the underworld.

(b) Demeter

Demeter is associated with Poseidon Hippios in the Arcadian legend, undergoing the same metamorphosis, and giving birth to Areion the horse. Pausanias informs us that because of this, her cult-statue in the cave outside Phigalia had a horse's head[25]. Despoina was the other child of the two deities; and it is possible that the horse-headed figure which is among those decorating the veil of her cult-statue at Lykosoura is a reference to her birth-legend[26]. Demeter is an earth-goddess: the sanctuary inhabited by her horse-headed statue was a cave; and snakes sprouted from the head as additional symbols of her underworld nature[27]. The horses sacrificed to Poseidon near Mantinea were flung

into the river through a crack in the ground; and when Pluto carried off Persephone to his kingdom, it was also through a chasm in the earth that he drove his horses. It is evident that in these stories of Demeter and Poseidon, the horse is closely associated with the underworld[28] - an association which is consistent with the myth of Pegasos and the Hippocrene fountain. This chthonic symbolism offers an additional explanation for the appearance of horses, or their heads, in funerary reliefs.

(c) Athena

Despite her horse's head, there is no evidence that Demeter was ever called by any title derived from the horse. Athena, however, occasionally was: in Acharnai, and near the Academy of Athens (where she shared Poseidon's altar) she was known as Athena Hippia[29]; and also at Olympia, where her altar beside the starting-place for the horse-races was close to that of Poseidon Hippios[30]. The two deities had other cult-places in common (their dispute over the Athenian Acropolis was legendary), and in his *Description of Attica*, Pausanias refers to a Libyan story which suggests an explanation for the link, by making Poseidon the father of Athena[31].

In Corinth, Athena was given the title of Chalinitis (Athena of the bridle) which Pausanias explains by the myth that Athena helped the hero Bellerophon by giving him Pegasos, first mastering the winged horse, and putting the bit into his mouth, a story which links her again with Poseidon his father[32].

The altar of Athena Hippia beside the race-course at Olympia may be a reminder that the Homeric goddess was at home in chariots, and could drive them well. On the battle-field of Troy she pulls Diomedes'

driver from his place in the hero's war-chariot, seizes the reins and whip, and drives furiously into the thick of the fight[33]. Athena's title of Hippia may thus be seen to stem not only from her cult-sharing with Poseidon, but also from her role as a war-goddess, equipped with a team of horses as with her helmet and *aegis*[34].

(d) Artemis

I have found no literary evidence of a mythology in which Artemis is specifically associated with horses, as Poseidon or Athena was; and as far as I know, the title of Hippia was not given to her. Yet there are some literary indications of links between goddess and horse; indeed, it would be surprising if there had been no association between Homer's *potnia theron*, and the animal which was so valued in the world of those who acknowledged her. Even if she was never called Hippia, Pindar refers to her as Hipposoa (driver of horses)[35]; and the title is consistent with the lines in the Homeric Hymn to Artemis, where she is described as watering her horses at Meles, and swiftly driving her golden chariot through Smyrna to Claros[36]. Her role as protectress of young creatures is recalled in a fragment of Bacchylides, where she is addressed as Hippotrophos, nurse of steeds[37]. It seems that she was also skilled at finding horses which were lost. When Odysseus, who had wandered all over Greece in search of them, actually found his straying horses near Pheneos, he felt he had Artemis to thank. So he founded a sanctuary for the goddess, and bestowed on her the title of Eurippa (horse-finder). He also decided to keep a herd of mares in the territory, and no doubt they were sacred to Artemis, who must have watched over their young, and so fulfilled her role as *hippotrophos*[38].

(e) Other deities

Poseidon and Athena were not the only deities to have altars at the race-course of Olympia: Hera Hippia and Ares Hippios were also represented. I believe that like Athena's, their altars may have been placed there because of a specifically Homeric association: the participation of the Olympian gods in the conflict of Troy meant that both Hera and Ares (as well as Athena) drove chariots as partisans of either Greeks or Trojans. Hera put the golden harness on her pair of horses, attached them to her chariot and (with Athena as passenger) drove them swiftly to Troy, on a course between earth and the stars [39]. Once on the ground, she hid them in a mist beside the river Simios, where ambrosia sprang up for them to feed on. Ares had also driven his horses to Troy, and had left them to rest on a cloud, while he wrought havoc on the field [40]. Finally, he lent them to Aphrodite so that she could escape from the battle and return safely to Olympus. Perhaps Aphrodite's less aggressive use of the chariot and its team, prevented her inclusion among the horse-driving deities of Olympia. But as a goddess born of the sea-foam [41], she was associated with horses, and was sometimes depicted as riding on one [42]. She was even called by the name of Hippodameia (horse-tamer)[43]; a title which recalls the story that Pelops, the legendary charioteer, dedicated a statue of herself to Aphrodite at Temnos, in order to obtain his marriage with Hippodameia, daughter of Oinomaos[44]. In fact there is scarcely an Olympian god who is not shown as riding or driving horses from the earliest times [45]. Apollo, who was known as a breeder of horses as well as cattle [46], drove them in his capacity of sun-god [47], and his son Phaeton came to grief because he could not control his firey steeds. Zeus, like Hera and Ares, used his team to drive from Olympus

to Troy and back [48]. Poseidon and Demeter were perhaps the only deities to assume the shape of a horse, to have once even been worshipped as one; but the other Olympians were accompanied by horses much as the successful men of the Homeric world were: they owned them, cared for them, displayed wealth through them, and drove to war behind them.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Evidence of sacrifice

The discovery of horses' physical remains in sanctuaries has been as rare as literary reference to their sacrifice. The bones of one horse, perhaps a victim, were discovered at the Archaic altar in the Artemision of Ephesos; and both horse-teeth and bones came to light at Kalydon. At both these sanctuaries Artemis was worshipped in the character of a huntress (at Kalydon boars' tusks were also dedicated, and at the Ephesos altar the bones of dogs were found). The occasional sacrifice of a horse used in hunting may have been regarded as an appropriate act in the cult of a goddess who presided over this pursuit, and whose sanctuary at Spartan Limnai produced the greatest quantity of terracottas representing a horse-riding goddess. On the other hand, it has been seen that horses, like dogs, were also associated with death; and at Ephesos, where Hekate, as Artemis' darker self, was also worshipped, their sacrifice might have been made with a goddess of death in mind. Their association with the underworld might also explain the presence of horse-bones (as well as dogs) at Demeter's sanctuary in Knossos. In any case, the few bones and teeth of horses found in the sanctuaries examined in this study are an indication that Poseidon, Zeus and the sun-god were not the only recipients of horses in sacrifice.

(ii) Representations of horses in sanctuaries

(a) Distribution

Over 2000 representations of separate horses have been reported from the sanctuaries under consideration here. The exact number cannot be estimated because of the lack of detail in some reports. If groups of rider and horse (over 350) and chariot and horses (approximately 300) are also taken into account, the horse emerges clearly as the most frequently dedicated animal-representation in sanctuaries; although unaccompanied horses are exceeded by cattle. Nearly 1600 of the separate horses consist of early bronze figurines discovered in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, 440 of which have been catalogued by Heilmeyer. Thus Zeus (assuming he was the recipient here) is the deity to whom separate horses were dedicated in greatest number; although most of them were produced by a single sanctuary. Second is Artemis, from twelve of whose sanctuaries a total of 150 representations were reported (without counting the Archaic lead figurines from Artemis Orthia, or the similarly unrecorded number of terracotta and bronze horses from Kalydon and the Knakeatis sanctuary); 100 of them (and twenty-two lead types of representation) come from Artemis Orthia. After Artemis is Athena, from ten of whose sanctuaries at least 120 are recorded; followed by Hera, who received about 110. The sanctuaries of Apollo considered here yielded at least seventy-five representations of horses alone, and those of Poseidon approximately forty, while in the sanctuaries of Demeter examined, almost none were apparently discovered.

When we come to consider horses dedicated with their riders, however, it is Poseidon who receives the greatest number of representations: more than 100 from three sanctuaries, most of them in the form

of plaques from Penteskouphia. Remarkably few horses with riders came to light at Olympia, considering the number of unaccompanied horses found there; but at Zeus' Nemean sanctuary the American excavation uncovered nearly 100 fragments of terracotta riders (the report does not indicate, however, how many figurines these fragments represent). It may be that despite the Nemean fragments both Athena, in whose sanctuaries were found more than fifty horse and rider representations, and Hera, who received over sixty, were more often the recipients of this type of offering than was Zeus. Artemis had fewer, unless the lead figurines from Artemis Orthia numbered forty or more. This is always possible, but apart from the lead figurines, only fifteen representations of horses with male riders were discovered in her sanctuaries. But out of twenty-three bronze and terracotta figurines of the rarer side-sitting rider which is generally interpreted (reasonably enough) as a female, seventeen were dedicated in sanctuaries
36 of Artemis (mostly Artemis Orthia), three in Hera sanctuaries, and one each at Tegea, Olympia and Amyclai.

Horses forming part of a chariot group are a favourite *motif* of the ancient world, and they are found, both in the round, and as engravings or reliefs, at the sanctuaries of most deities. Over 100 bronze or terracotta parts of chariot groups dating from the Geometric and
37 Archaic periods were found at Olympia, thus making Zeus the deity who received the greatest number of such dedications; Athena received more than seventy, mostly in the form of Late Archaic terracotta reliefs from the Acropolis, in which the armed goddess herself is the charioteer; while at Penteskouphia fifty to sixty sides of the surviving painted plaques depict chariots, nearly always driven by Poseidon - but once, at least, by Athena. Thus Zeus at Olympia, Athena and Poseidon were

the three principal recipients of chariot-representations. Artemis received twenty-four such images, not counting about twenty fragments from Kombothreka; and Christou believed that some of the lead pendants representing a female between two horse-protomes may also constitute a shorthand version of the goddess in her chariot[49]. Fifteen chariot-representations were reported from sanctuaries of Hera; and it has been suggested that the wooden stools discovered at Samos, whose sides are horse-shaped, may be yet another kind of chariot-representation - a throne of the goddess which recalled her chariot[50].

(b) Commentary on the distribution

The large number of horse-representations dedicated in sanctuaries cannot be explained in terms of commemoration of, or substitution for the sacrifice of real animals, since horse-sacrifice (though not, as we have seen, unknown) is rare[51]. Reasons for the presence of their images in the sanctuaries of nearly all the Olympian gods, must be looked for elsewhere; and may be expected to emerge in a more detailed examination of the sanctuaries in question.

If separate horses, chariots, and groups of horse and rider are considered together, as one class of dedication, their distribution between sanctuaries of Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, Artemis and Hera would be fairly even, if it were not for the very large number of early bronze figurines found at Olympia. Setting aside the early Olympian bronzes, roughly 200 horse-representations were found in the sanctuaries examined here of each of these deities. Such a distribution is not inconsistent with the horse-derived titles applied to all of them but Zeus, or with the Homeric tradition which saw them all as chariot-driving deities.

1. Zeus and the Olympian sanctuary:

The Olympian figurines cannot, however, be ignored in any discussion of the representations of horses dedicated to the gods. When they are considered, we must recognize that Zeus, the supreme deity of Olympia, was a prime recipient of such offerings; although as he was not the only deity worshipped in the Altis, he need not have been their sole recipient. By the fifth century, at least, the chariot-*motif*, so well represented at Olympia in early times, was indisputably associated with the patron of the sanctuary; since it formed the sculptural decoration on the East pediment of his temple. Here the deadly chariot-race of Pelops against Oinomaos is about to begin, presided over by Zeus himself, a central figure of more than human proportions. The pedimental sculptures on the west facade of the temple represent the battle between Lapiths and Centaurs at Peirithoos' wedding. This is a favourite subject for the decoration of Greek temples, although it is generally shown in a frieze (as on the Parthenon) rather than on the pediment. But at Olympia I believe it may have been chosen to express another facet on the theme of man's divinely aided mastery of the horse: the centaurs, half men and half horses, being themselves subdued by heroes. According to legend, Pelops' real patron in the chariot-race was in fact not Zeus, but Poseidon, who was his lover, and who gave him a winged chariot, the axles of which stayed dry even when it was driven through the sea[52]. On Kypselos' chest in Hera's temple, where the story of the chase was also represented, Pelops' horses were given wings[53]. As a decorative *motif*, winged horses on a ring, and on Archaic shields dedicated in the sanctuary, were appropriate for Olympia.

The Greeks who won chariot-races in historic times left their own monuments of triumph inside the Altis. As Pausanias' description

shows, there were a number of statues of horses and chariots dedicated to Zeus but glorifying the mortal winner. Some of the early figurines of chariots, so much more numerous at Olympia than at other sanctuaries, may also have commemorated the races. However, the Games began, according to tradition, during the eighth century; and some bronze figurines of horses belong to the ninth century [54], while some of the clay chariots and drivers are even earlier in date [55]. So the special association of the horse with the deities of Olympia appears to have begun before the Games, assuming that the Games were not already in existence before the eighth century [56]. If the dedications of small horses and chariots predate the Games, then it is very possible that they simply reflected the concerns of the worshippers, and were hopeful representations of an esteemed type of property (as were the similar terracottas dedicated to Artemis at Kombothreka). At the same time, the cult of Pelops at Olympia was reputedly ancient[57]; and Pelops' bride, the prize for winning the chariot-race, was Hippodameia. Olympia produced few male riders of horses: but one example of the much rarer type of figurine representing a female horse-woman (dated 775-750 BC) was discovered there. A small engraving on the leg of a Geometric tripod depicts a human form (perhaps a goddess) standing on a horse's back; and Willemsen has suggested that this may be a reference to Hippodameia[58]. Hippodameia had her own sanctuary in the Altis when Pausanias visited it (though no trace of it is now known)[59] and might have been worshipped there as a horse-taming deity in much earlier times - a suitable *potnia theron* for a region of Greece where the raising of herds of horses and cattle was evidently important. It is not impossible, then, that the chariot-figurines (some as early as the tenth century) may have been dedicated to Hippodameia and her consort; or at least

to a horse-deity whose cult was inherited by Zeus, and echoed both in the Pelops myth as Pindar tells it, and in the equestrian events of the Games [60]. When Olympian Zeus and Hera were established, the older pair of gods did not vanish altogether, but became heroes [61]. This interpretation of the developments at Olympia is necessarily speculative; but there are parallels at other sanctuaries [62]. The theory, if valid, would suggest that it was as the successor to Hippodameia and Pelops that Zeus emerges at Olympia as such a notable recipient of horse-representations. At all events, the chariot-*motif* at Olympia was exceptionally long-lived; since more than 1000 years after the dedication of the early chariot-figurines, it was chosen to fill the central panel of the mosaic in the Octagon, just beside the entrance to the race-course.

2. Artemis Orthia and the potnia hippon

After Zeus, the deity to whom most representations of horses without riders or chariots were dedicated was Artemis. The greater part of these were found in her Spartan sanctuary, which yielded 100 such representations in bronze, terracotta, limestone and ivory, - even a paste box was engraved with a horse's head. In addition to these dedications there was an unspecified number of lead figurines of complete horses, and of their double protomes. There were no lead horses later than 500 BC; in fact all the dedications are of Geometric or Archaic date. The horse in its superhuman winged form, too, is represented at the sanctuary: a few seventh century lead figurines and the decoration on some lead rings are *pegasi*, and an ivory comb of the same period is decorated by one; while two of the chariots on sixth century bone and ivory plaques are drawn by a team of four

winged horses. Representations of the horse accompanied by a female, evidently the goddess, were also discovered. Not only did seventeen out of the twenty-three female riders which I have listed come from Artemis Orthia, but one ivory plaque of the late seventh century shows a horse standing behind the winged goddess; and I believe that the bone plaque in two pieces, also of the late seventh century, which depicts a pair of horses standing on their hind legs in a heraldic position, might have been completed by a central panel in which the goddess was represented. The *motif* of the *potnia* flanked by a pair of horses is certainly represented in the one ivory and nine terracotta pendants
38 where the female head appears between two horse-heads; and at least two of the types of double horse-head pendants in lead also show a schematic central female figure.

The goddess Orthia of Sparta had many roles; and one of them was evidently that of a *potnia hippon*, such as Hippodameia may have been at Olympia. Such a deity may be expected to have a Minoan or Mycenean origin; and there are engraved gems which show that the horse, or at least the horse's head, had a meaning in Bronze Age religious practices. On one Mycenean rock-crystal gem a naked man is flanked by two creatures (possibly human) with horses' heads[63]; and on a Cretan pebble a figure of doubtful sex, again with a horse's head, and wearing a horse's skin, carries a slaughtered deer[64]. The Geometric and Archaic representations of female riders certainly had their Mycenean prototype: a surviving example is the clay figurine of a *psi*-goddess seated on a horse with a saddle looking like horns of consecration[65]. But apparently no Bronze Age representation of the *potnia* flanked by heraldic horses, as by lions or birds, is known. Yet the *motif* existed in the Archaic period: its shortened protome-version was dedicated,

as we have seen, at Artemis Orthia's sanctuary; and a very similar Archaic female protome in bronze was found on the Acropolis of Athens, though here the human head is not flanked, but surmounted by two horse-protomes like an elaborate headdress. The complete *potnia theron* with two horses also appears on objects dedicated in three Cretan sanctuaries during the Archaic period. The sanctuary of Prinias was evidently the home of a *potnia hippon*, since the temple was adorned by a frieze of horsemen, and the horse also figures as a decoration on the skirt of the seated goddess above the door. But on the neck of a *pithos* dedicated in the sanctuary, the image of a winged *potnia*, grasping two horses by their front hoofs, is shown three times in relief. At the sanctuary of Lato where a goddess similar to Artemis Orthia was worshipped [66], three terracotta plaques, and seven fragments of similar ones, depict a winged figure between two horses. Finally, on the Acropolis of Gortyn, a fragmentary painted plaque depicts a rearing stallion, whose fore-hoof is grasped by a human hand; and I believe we may assume that this was another *potnia hippon*. Prinias, Lato and Gortyn were all Cretan sanctuaries, and their Archaic representations of the *potnia theron* flanked by horses are a persuasive argument that this type of goddess had her forebear in Bronze Age Crete.

We have seen that the winged horse was associated with fountains and with water which came from under the earth; that horse-sacrifice in at least one Arcadian cult of Poseidon linked the horse with the underworld; and that horse-headed Demeter was a chthonian deity. Christou in fact sees the horse of the Archaic *potnia theron* as a symbol of her chthonian aspect, her power over death and the nether world [67]. He stresses that she cannot therefore be associated with any one Olympian goddess, since all of them shared to some degree this aspect of the

potnia[68]; and we have seen that horse-derived titles were applied to most of them.

It may be only by chance, then, that Artemis Orthia, whose sanctuary is rich in animal-representations of so many kinds, has emerged so clearly as a *potnia hippon*. But it demonstrates at least that Artemis, with whom Orthia merged, had her assured place among the deities of horses. The horse is part of a hunter's equipment, and as such an appropriate servant of the goddess of hunting. An Archaic antefix from Capua, which takes the form of the goddess riding a horse, and carrying a bow, shows that by the time it was made, Artemis herself (rather than a pre-Olympian *potnia theron* of unknown name) was clearly associated with horses[69]. Cultrera believed that the central *akroterion* of Artemis' temple in Ortygia at Syracuse also took the form of a horse with its rider; and it is unfortunate that the surviving fragments are insufficient to indicate the rider's identity or sex. At all events, the number of horse-representations and female riders dedicated in her sanctuaries may be understood as an expression of Artemis' association with horses [70].

3. Poseidon

Poseidon figures even in the legend of Pelops, the Olympian hero, by providing him with horses of supernatural speed; and of all the deities he is acknowledged as the supreme god of horses, in the sea or on land. It may therefore seem rather surprising that of the deities considered here, he seems to have received in dedication fewer representations of the unaccompanied horse than any, except Demeter[71]. But when the representations of horses under the control of a rider or charioteer are considered, a different picture emerges.

As the recipient of chariot-dedications, Poseidon is eclipsed only by Zeus at Olympia, and Athena on the Acropolis of Athens. At Penteskouphia, over fifty sides of the painted plaques have this *motif*. But as the recipient of horses with their riders, he is foremost among the gods: at least 100 were dedicated to him. The explanation for this pattern in the types of horse-representations dedicated to Poseidon may lie in the fact that most of the riders and charioteers depicted (at least on the Penteskouphia plaques, where a trident often identifies the god) are Poseidon himself. So great was his control of the creatures who were in part symbols of his element, the sea, that in his sanctuaries they are more often represented with the god, than in isolation. The evidence of the Penteskouphia plaques as to the importance of the chariot as an attribute of Poseidon, is supported by Pausanias' description of Herodes Atticus' sumptuous group in his Isthmian temple. Here the gold and ivory Poseidon and Amphitrite do not sit on thrones, but stand in their chariot, which is drawn by a team of four gilded horses with ivory hoofs [72]. At Isthmia, too, Pausanias saw a sculptured group of Bellerophon, Ino and Pegasos; and this allusion to Poseidon's relationship with the winged horse and with Bellerophon is also echoed (or perhaps foreshadowed) on one or two of the Penteskouphia plaques.

4. Athena

Representations of horses were dedicated to Athena in at least nine of her sanctuaries: the exact number found at Sounion, Philia and Gortyn is not recorded; but from those of her sanctuaries considered here, the total is at least 100. A greater number of horses in isolation may have been dedicated to Artemis, Hera, and the deity of Olympia; but Athena was also one of the most frequent recipients

of riders, and a greater number of chariot-representations, especially on the Athenian Acropolis, were offered to her than to any other deity apart from the one at Olympia. We have seen that she was associated with the horse in mythology and by title; and title and myths may indirectly reflect an early role in her history as *potnia hippon*. Certainly her mastering of Pegasos, as Athena Chalinitis, identifies her as a tamer of horses. De Ridder suggested that the female head surmounted by horse-protomes from the Acropolis might be a reference to the Pegasos myth[73]; and he could have made a similar comment on the bronze winged horse-protomes of the same period. The "numerous" painted plaques from Athena's sanctuary at Gortyn, depicting the fight between Bellerophon and Pegasos, and the Medusa, certainly do commemorate the myth, and the goddess' connection with it. The Geometric bronze female rider dedicated at Tegea is not inconsistent with the role of *potnia hippon*; nor is the plaque from Gortyn where the stallion's hoof is grasped by a hand. But Homeric myth depicts Athena as a war-goddess, driving her chariot against Ares himself; and the representation of riders and chariots from the Athenian Acropolis (where nearly fifty horses in isolation were also discovered) were probably dedicated, at least from Archaic times, to Athena in her warlike character.

Athena's role as a goddess of war is clearly expressed in over sixty Late Archaic terracotta plaques from the Acropolis, where she is shown climbing into or driving her chariot, armed with *aegis*, spear and shield. But horse-dedications in which the goddess was not represented also had reference to war, as the epigram belonging to the statues of vanquished Boeotian and Chalkidian horses testifies[74]. Even before the Persian war, Athena's sanctuary must have been liberally adorned with equestrian statues, as the six surviving Archaic examples (including

the Rampin horseman) indicate. Where they do not represent defeated enemies, such dedications celebrate the flower of Athenian youth, and the defenders, actual or potential, of the state. In either case, they express the might of arms, and the courage of men, which were the eventual concerns of this goddess in historic times. The Athenian Acropolis was a sanctuary of special wealth and splendour; but the more modest remains of rider-figurines from the Acropolis sanctuaries of Lindos, Sparta; Elateia and Gortyn for the same reason must have been appropriate dedications for Athena. Even the horsemen on the Parthenon's inner frieze express the same aspect of the goddess and her cult. The Panathenaic procession was a statement of the city's strength as well as its reverence for the patron deity; and it has been suggested by John Boardman that the number of men in the procession of the frieze is the same as the number killed at Marathon[75]. This is to say, the Parthenon frieze with its horses, served in part as a war-memorial.

5. Demeter

The presence of horse-bones at Demeter's sanctuary of Knossos suggests that horses were on occasion sacrificed to her: perhaps they were felt to be suitable offerings for a chthonian deity, like those thrown into the underground river for Poseidon in Arcadia. It is always possible that the horse from an eighth century terracotta chariot group found in the same sanctuary may refer to Persephone's rape and journey to the underworld, though a single example is slight evidence for such an interpretation.

Yet despite Demeter's chthonic association with horses, in only one of the reports on those of Demeter's sanctuaries considered in this

study, have I found any mention of the discovery of horse-figurines; although there are two terracotta riders in the Museum at Eleusis[76]; and a marble equestrian statue was discovered in her sanctuary at Cyrene. This may be the result of incompleteness in the reports; but since Demeter was neither a war-goddess nor, it seems, a *potnia hippon*, horse-representations were perhaps not generally felt to be appropriate dedications for her. Evidently her association with the horse as a symbol of chthonic power was of a different kind from the equestrian associations of other deities. This particular relationship was expressed in the horse-headed cult-statue in the cave near Phigalia, which Pausanias describes; and it is of some interest that the Mycenean gem engraved with two horse-headed figures was also found in the Phigalia region[77]. The figure on Despoina's veil, not far away in Lykosoura, may refer to the same conception of a horse-headed chthonian deity. Thus it is surely not irrelevant that the most striking representation of a horse from the
39 sanctuaries of Demeter under examination should be a large marble horse-protome wearing a collar of acanthus leaves, dedicated in Eleusis. This object belongs to the Hellenistic period; but the Phigalian cult-statue which was made (according to Pausanias' account) during the fifth century, replaced a much older horse-headed wooden statue; so that the Eleusis protome must embody an ancient concept of Demeter. The remains of the limestone horse's head from Cyrene (also seemingly Hellenistic) do not indicate whether this was an independent protome, or the fragment of a complete horse. If it were a protome it would constitute an interesting parallel to the Eleusis marble.

C. Conclusion

A very large number of representations of horses, either alone or with their riders, or harnessed to chariots, were discovered in the sanctuaries of the gods examined in this study. They were commonly dedicated not only to Poseidon, the god of horses, but to all the deities in question, although by far the greatest number was found in the sanctuary at Olympia. Most of the gods were associated with horses in mythology, if only as drivers of chariots; and Poseidon, Athena, Hera, Ares, Artemis and even Aphrodite were addressed by titles or epithets which expressed this association. Many female deities inherited characteristics of a *potnia theron* whose origins may lie in Bronze Age cults: Artemis Orthia is one of them, and the numbers of horse-representations dedicated at her Sparta sanctuary, like the birds and lions also found there, reflect this inheritance.

It has been suggested that her attendant horses symbolize the *potnia theron's* power over death; and the presence of horses on funerary reliefs lends support to this theory. But to the ancients, the horse was also a weapon of war, a sign of wealth, and part of the equipment for a dangerous and honourable sport. Thus the *potnia's* horses must also have pointed to her dominion over important aspects of men's lives in this world - over wealth, power, and earthly success. Even as the companion of dead heroes, the horse recalls the brave deeds they performed in life. The achievements of a man without a horse could only be limited, as the chivalric heroes of a later age were to know. Thus the representations of horses found in the sanctuaries of the gods were dedicated to their patrons for a variety of reasons, and so expressed different aspects of the deity, and the sanctuary in question. For example, it is likely that a horse dedicated to Athena might be

regarded as a symbol of success in war; whereas at Olympia where the cult of a horse-taming deity or deities may have existed before the institution of the Games, and perhaps even before the advent of Zeus, the horse came to be associated both with Pelops' legendary chariot-race and with the real races held during the Games, which the victors commemorated with horse-dedications of varying grandeur. We may conclude, in fact, that the large number of horse-representations which have been found in sanctuaries reflects the animal's importance in more than one sphere of life over which the gods of the ancient world presided.

References

1. Pausanias VIII.7.2.
2. *Ibid*. III 20.4. For a similar sacrifice to Helios on Rhodes, see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* . p. 427.
3. Pausanias. II. 27.4.
4. *API* VI.135.
5. *Iliad*. XXIII. lines 171-2.
6. *AR* 28 (1981-2) p. 17.
7. Keller. *Die Antike Tierwelt*. Vol. I. pp. 252-3. *cf* Rouse, pp. 18 and 25.
8. Pausanias. VI.4.10; VI.2.8; VI.9.7; VI.10.6-7; VI.11.1; VI.12.1; VI.12.6; VI.13.9; VI.14.4; VI.14.12; VI.16.9; VI.18.1.
9. See Rouse, p. 106.
10. Pausanias. X.10.2-3; X.15.2; X.18.1.
11. *API* VI.343.
12. Athenaeus. 466 d. (Loeb. Vol. 5. p. 34).
13. *Iliad*. VIII.440-1.
14. *Ibid*. XXIII.581-585.

15. The Academy of Athens. I 30.4
Sparta. III 14.2
Olympia. V 15.5
Patras. VII 21.3
Mantinea. VIII 10.2
Pheneos. VIII 14.5
Methydrion. VIII 36.2
Lykosoura (Sanctuary of Despoina). VIII.37.10

16. Pausanias. VII.21.3.

17. *Ibid.* VIII.8.2.

18. *Ibid.* VIII.25.5-7; VIII.37.10.

19. Hesiod. *Theogony.* 276-281.

20. *Pausanias' Description of Greece.* Vol. IV. p. 197.

21. Nilsson. *Grechische Feste.* p. 66.

22. *Ibid.* p. 349.

23. Pausanias. II.3.5.

24. *Ibid.* II.31.12; IX.31.3.

25. Pausanias. VIII.42.4.

26. See *BSA* 13 (1906-7) Pl. 14.

27. Lykosoura itself was essentially a sanctuary of chthonian deities: Artemis, who stands with Demeter and Despoina in Damophon's cult-statue group, is accompanied by snakes as well as her dog (*Ibid.* Pl. 12).

28. See Cook. *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 142. "The prominent figure throughout Arcadian legend is the horse, and the horse as symbol of the nether world".

29. Pausanias. I.31.3; I.30.4.

30. *Ibid.* V.15.5.

31. *Ibid.* I.14.6.

32. Pausanias. II.4.1.

33. *Iliad.* V. 835-841.

34. See *RE* 8.2 (1913) 1701.

35. *Olympian Odes.* III.26.

36. *Homeric Hymns.* IX.3-5. (*cf* many Archaic B-F vase-paintings from the seventh century onwards. *Lexlc* II. *Artemis* 1299-1281).

37. R.C. Jebb. *Bacchylides*. Cambridge 1905. p. 334. *Epinikoi* XI.115.

38. Pausanias. 14.5-6.

39. *Iliad*. V.719-777. *cf* VIII.381-396.

40. *Ibid*. V. 352-369.

41. The plinth at the Isthmian sanctuary bearing the gold and ivory cult statue of Poseidon and Amphitrite in their chariot, was decorated with a scene in which a Sea holds up the child Aphrodite, with Nereids on either side [Pausanias II.1.7].

42. Keller. *Die Antike Tierwelt*. Vol. I. p. 249. *cf* Christou. *Potnia theron*. p. 157.

43. See Hesychius' gloss on *Hippodameia*.

44. Pausanias. V.13.7.

45. Keller. *Op. cit.* p. 246.

46. *Iliad*. II.766. Admetus' horses, driven by his son Eumelus, were the best in the Greek army; they were mares raised in Peraea by Apollo of the silver bow, to carry panic to the battle-field. *cf* Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. I.17.45.

47. The East pediment of the late seventh century temple of Apollo at Delphi showed the god riding in his chariot. *FdD* II (1927). Fig. 23.

48. *Iliad*. VIII.438-9.

49. *Potnia theron*. p. 157.

50. *AM* 68 (1953) pp. 89-90.

51. Rouse. p. 67.

52. Pindar. *Olympian Odes*. I.71-88; Apollodorus. *Epitome*. II.3.

53. Pausanias. V.17.7.

54. *OlForsch* XII pp. 54-9; 73-6; 139-141.

55. *OlForsch* VII pp. 20 and 35.

56. According to the two alternative legends for the creation of the Games,by the Cretan Kouretes, or by Herakles son of Amphitryon, their institution during the eighth century would have been a revival, not a new venture (E.N. Gardiner. *Olympia. Its History and Remains*. Oxford 1925. pp. 58-9).

57. Pindar's first Olympian Ode (476 BC) is the earliest source for Pelops' chariot-race (lines 67-98); and in it he notes the presence of the hero's tomb beside the altar of Zeus (lines 90-95). Pausanias was told that the Pelopion, which he visited, had been founded by Herakles [V.13.1-2]. Its wall and *propylaion* in fact date from the late fifth century [see Papahadzis. Vol. III. Figs. 262 and 263]; but beneath these classical remains, there were traces of two earlier Pelopia, one polygonal like the classical shrine, and the other (older) roughly circular. Between the two levels of the earlier shrines, many figurines were discovered, dating at least from the ninth century, including clay chariots and charioteers [W. Dorpfeld. *Alt-Olympia*. Osnabrück 1966. Vol. I. pp. 118-22; and *Olympia* IV. p. 3].

58. *OlForsch* III. pp. 68-9.

59. Pausanias. V.22.2.

60. See *OlForsch* XII. p. 151, and note 196, where Heilmeyer refers briefly to both these possible, alternative explanations for the clay chariots.

61. See Papahadzis. Vol. III. p. 263, note 5.

62. For example, the same fate appears to have befallen Iphigeneia, who had her "tomb" at Brauron [Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. 1464-7], and Opis and Arge in the Delian Artemision [Herodotus. IV.35]. The pre-Greek deity Hyakinthos also became a hero, said to be buried in the base of Apollo's statue at Amyclai [Pausanias. III.19.3].

63. *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 138. Fig. 18.

64. *Ibid*. Fig. 19.

65. Mylonas. *Mycene and the Mycenean Age*. Figs. 118-119.

66. *BCH* 53 (1929) p. 427.

67. *Potnia theron*. p. 158. This may be the meaning of the female figure on one side of the seventh century Boeotian coffer, on which a winged *potnia* is also represented. The female figure is preceded by a snake, and leads a horse [*Jdl* 3 (1888) p. 357].

68. *Potnia theron*. pp. 157 and 201.

69. *GazArch* 7 (1881) Pl. 14.

70. Hekate, who represents Artemis' darker aspect,is in later times depicted on coins seated sideways on a galloping horse, as in the Archaic female terracottas [Gardner. *Catalogue of Greek Coins*. (BM). *Thessaly to Aetolia*. p. 48. Pl. 10.16 (2nd c BC coin of Pherai)].

71. The horses discovered at Isthmia have not been enumerated, but in general Poseidon received about the same number (forty) as Apollo.

72. Pausanias. II.1.7.

73. A. De Ridder. *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*. Paris. 1896. p. 160.

74. *cf* Herodotos V. 77. A bronze chariot and four mares was made for a tithe of the ransom-money, and dedicated to Athena with a triumphant inscription.

75. See V. Höckmann and A. Krug. *Festschrift für Frank Brommer*. Mainz. 1977. pp. 39-49.

76. In the fourth century marble reliefs showing Triptolemos in his chariot, the draught animals are winged serpents rather than horses [G.E. Mylonas. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Princeton 1961. p. 195. Fig. 74].

77. See note 63.

INSECTS AND ARACHNIDS (*See Appendix 8.13*)

A. Literary evidence

The close relationship of some animals and birds with various deities is scarcely shared by most species of insect and arachnid: literature, at least, offers little evidence of it. It is easier to see divinity in a horse or lion, than in a fly or grasshopper, both of which seem more likely to be regarded as pests than as attributes or companions of gods. But an examination of the comparatively few representations found in sanctuaries prompts some attempt to assess whether these had any religious significance as dedications, or whether they served merely as attractive ornaments.

(i) Flies

It is probable that flies could be a practical nuisance in sanctuaries, where animals were brought to be slaughtered, and their carcasses dismembered. It must therefore have been in propitiation, as a persuasion to their departure, that they were actually offered a share in the ox sacrificed to Apollo of Leukas[1]. At Olympia, however, the appeal was not made to the insects themselves, but to Zeus Apomyios (averter of flies)[2]; and at Aliphera during a night-festival of Athena, a being called Myagros (fly-catcher) was initially invoked for the same reason[3]. In Frazer's commentary he conjectures that in such cases the god or hero who was asked to keep off the insects was once himself an insect, but as their king was able to protect mankind against his subjects[4].

(ii) Locusts, grasshoppers and cicadas

Locusts or grasshoppers, when swarming, are an even more serious plague than flies; and it is evident from Pausanias' explanation of the bronze Apollo of locusts on the Acropolis of Athens, that this god

must have been regarded as able to control them[5]. It was probably for this reason that the Aeolians sacrificed to Apollo Pornopios[6]. Apollo's power over the locust or grasshopper may have been associated with his role as a god of music. One of the Dedicatory Epigrams records that a bronze cicada was offered to Lycorean Apollo by the winner of a music-competition, who placed his figurine on the lyre carried by the god's statue[7]. This was because while he was playing, one of the musician's lyre-strings broke, and the cicada perching on the instrument, sang in its place[8]. The winged cicada is in fact distinct from the grasshopper and locust, but is not always clearly distinguished, because they are both thought of as singers. A number of epigrams (mostly funerary) celebrate either the locust (or grasshopper) or the cicada which had been made into a pet because of its song[9]. Another of the Dedicatory Epigrams, while still linking the cicada with music, regards it as an attribute of Athena; it may be seen perched on her spear because it is a singer, and Athena invented the flute[10]. But the custom of the Athenians before Solon's time of wearing golden cicadas in their hair, apparently sprang not from a desire to honour Athena for her invention, but from the belief that they were insects born of the earth, and therefore fitting ornaments for a people who claimed also to be autochthonous[11].

(iii) *Scorpions and bees*

The scorpion, as one of the most deadly of small creatures, was used by at least one deity as an instrument of vengeance, when Artemis sent it to kill Orion, her would-be ravisher[12]. On the other hand, it happens that Artemis was also associated with the most benevolent and useful of insects, the bee. Pausanias refers to the priests of Ephesian Artemis as "essenes" or king-bees, who feasted in honour of the goddess and who were known for the purity of their lives while in office[13].

These were no doubt connected with the bee-keepers who were at hand to open the doors of the house of Artemis, according to Aristophanes' quotation of Aeschylus[14]. Frazer suggested that the essenes might have been regarded as consorts of a bee-goddess - an idea that is dismissed by Picard[15]. The concept of a bee-goddess, whether or not she was Artemis, at least receives iconographical support in two Archaic gold plaques from a tomb at Kameiros, which depict a winged female who is bee-shaped below the waist. Similar pendants from the same necklace represent a winged *potnia theron* with lions, a type of goddess which is consistent with Ephesian Artemis[16].

But the bee is associated to some extent with other deities. Rhea gave birth to Zeus in a cavern sacred to bees[17]; as an infant he was nourished by honey as well as goats' milk[18]; and he was called by the title of Melissaios[19]. There is no literary proof that Artemis' priestesses at Ephesos were known as "Melissai"[20], but priestesses and initiates of Demeter did have this title[21]; and bees were supposed to build their honey-combs in Demeter's honour[22]. The Delphi priestesses may also have been known as "melissai"[23]; Apollo's second temple was supposedly built by bees out of wax[24]; and the Muses, who were inhabitants of Mt. Parnassus, and associated with Apollo, were regarded as akin to bees[25]. Dionysos, who also had his cult at Delphi[26], was fed with honey as an infant, and in general connected with the bee[27].

Cook believed that the Greeks regarded bees as chthonian creatures, because they frequently inhabited caves, and the carcasses of animals[28]. Honey was offered at tombs, and to Hekate[29]; and it was Cook's opinion that the bee might have been seen as an embodiment of the soul, and a symbol of immortality. Its connection with Zeus' birth-cavern, and Delphi's underground oracle would therefore be natural, but also symbolic; and its association with Demeter and Dionysos, themselves chthonian deities, is also explicable. A chthonian interpretation of the bee, too,

is consistent with its role in the priestly organisation of Ephesos; since at that sanctuary, Artemis was associated with Hekate, and as a *potnia theron* had power over death as well as life.

B. The distribution of insect and arachnid representations in sanctuaries

In the accounts of finds at the sanctuaries examined here, I have noted forty representations of insects and arachnids, over half being scorpions which are engraved on Archaic seals and other objects. Beetles are represented by seven examples in ivory, bronze, terracotta, or engraved on stone; and there are three bees, three flies, two cicadas or grasshoppers, and two engraved or *intaglio* spiders.

(i) Scorpions

As J.M. Stubbings pointed out, the scorpion was an oriental *motif* commonly represented in Greek art[30]. De Ridder noted its frequency in Attic and Corinthian vase-painting, and believed that it had an apotropaic meaning[31]. It decorates six or seven artefacts from Artemis Orthia's sanctuary, six from the Acropolis of Athens, and from Lindos, eight from Perachora, and one from Olympia where it is engraved on the base of a bronze cock. This distribution, seen in conjunction with its eastern origin and widespread decorative use, scarcely suggests a specific association with Artemis as an avenger. Yet there is an early Imperial gem of unknown provenance which shows the scorpion as an attribute of Ephesian Artemis. This is a convex stone on which the goddess is represented with only two breasts, but with a number of protuberances on her garment, giving a suggestion of the many-breasted image. She is flanked by two bitches, and holds a palm branch, while two objects which look like animal protomes seem either to sprout from her head, or to form her headdress. The scorpions appear above

her shoulders[32]. It should be noted that five of the Artemis Orthia scorpions are *intagli* which decorate the bases of ivory couchant animals - and that in each case the animal is a dog. The appearance of the scorpion in this context may reflect an association between it and Artemis and the dog: and since the dog is a funerary animal, and an attribute of Hekate, at home in the Ephesian sanctuary, it might well have been seen as an expression of her death-dealing power. Nevertheless, it decorated objects offered to Hera and Athena as well, and as an expression of the power to commit harm is no doubt appropriate to all three of these goddesses. On the Acropolis of Athens where many of the dedications refer to war, it appears above both the chariots depicted on a relief *pithos*; there, it may express the sting of death in battle, and Athena's power as a war-goddess[33].

(ii) Beetles

Four of the seven beetles (the most frequently represented insect in our sanctuaries) were dedicated to Athena; but any attempt to see them as an attribute of this goddess (for example, because of their industrious character) is probably misplaced. In fact they have no known connection with any cult, and the figurines no doubt simply reflected the popularity of paste scarabs imported from the East[34].

(iii) Grasshoppers and cicadas

The gold brooch in the form of a cicada and the terracotta grasshopper were both found in sanctuaries of Artemis; although if Apollo shared the Kalydonian shrine, the grasshopper might have been dedicated to him, an appropriate offering according to literary evidence. But if it were regarded as autochthonous, like the cicada, then a representation

of this insect might have been equally appropriate for a *potnia theron* concerned with fertility and the earth, at Kalydon as at Ephesos.

(iv) Bees

The association of the bee with various deities, which we have seen expressed in mythology, and in the titles of certain priestly officials, is scarcely reflected in the number of representations discovered in sanctuaries. I have noted only three, one gold Mycenean pendant, one Archaic gold pinhead, and one engraving on a Geometric ivory seal, from the Delos Artemision, Ephesos and Artemis Orthia, respectively. In addition, seven gold ornaments consisting of the bodies and wings of four bees joined to a single head, and called by Hogarth "bee-stars", were found at the Ephesian sanctuary. Thus all the bee-representations noted in this study were dedicated to Artemis, or (in Delos) to her Mycenean predecessor. The title of "bee-king", given to the Ephesian priests, suggests that the appearance of the *motif* in more than one piece of jewellery from the sanctuary can hardly be accidental. The same *motif* appears on Ephesian coins from the Archaic period onwards[35]; and in Hellenistic times the bee is sometimes represented with a strung bow and quiver, thus clearly linking it with the principal religious cult of the city[36]. If further confirmation of the association of the bee with Ephesian Artemis were needed, it would be found in at least two of her later images: the side panels on the skirt of the Vatican statue of many-breasted Artemis are decorated with bees; and the lowest panel on the skirt of an alabaster statuette from Naples also contains this *motif*[37]. Once, perhaps, Ephesian Artemis in one of her aspects was conceived as a bee-goddess, like the one on the Kameiros plaques. The plaque-goddess may even have been thought of as

Ephesian Artemis, a chthonian deity fitted to adorn or protect the dead. She is flanked by rosettes - a common enough *motif* which appears with the bees on the side panels of the Vatican statue; and also decorates the blocks of the altar in the Ephesian sanctuary[38].

The bee-representations discovered at the sanctuaries under examination, few though they are, may be seen as the expression of an association between Artemis and the insect whose natural characteristics gave it a special significance in the minds of the Greeks. Its presence in the Mycenean deposit of the Delian Artemision suggests that the association was an ancient one, predating perhaps the name of Artemis, but not the nature of the goddess. Its appearance in the Geometric period in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia may be an indication that for all the local distinctions which characterize the sanctuaries of the gods, these Spartan and Ephesian cults shared certain traits, and that Artemis' prototype in Sparta was a sister of Artemis Ephesia. I have suggested that the scorpion which decorates the bases of the ivory dogs in Orthia's sanctuary may have been an attribute of Artemis also in Ephesos, though to my knowledge no representation of the creature has been found in her sanctuary there. The bee, too, may be seen as a *motif* shared by the two cults, either through direct contact, or through a common Mycenean inheritance[39].

The iconographical context of the bee-*intaglio* on the Orthia seal may in fact throw additional light on the meaning of the bee itself. On another side of the same seal is the *intaglio* of a robed woman holding a tall plant; while on the third side is a siren, a fish, and a pomegranate bud[40]. Now although the ancients were not aware of the part played by the bee in the pollination of plants, they did observe its dependence on flowers and trees for nourishment and for the formation of the comb[41];

and its re-emergence from the hive was clearly associated with the flowering of the fields in spring-time. When Hippolytus makes a wreath for Artemis, it is from flowers which grew in a meadow visited only by bees[42]. In my opinion it is conceivable that the bee might have been regarded, if not as a symbol of vegetation, then at least as a concomitant of the seasonal process; an association which is quite consistent with any chthonic meaning it might have had. The bee-goddess of the Kameiros plaques was flanked by rosettes, as were the bees on the robe of Artemis Ephesia. Artemis Orthia was a goddess of vegetation and agriculture, as the iron sickles dedicated to her in Roman times suggest, and the female with the plant may represent the goddess in this role, while the bee, like the pomegranate, may well have been regarded as one of her attributes. The pomegranate also has an underworld association which is reinforced by the accompanying *motif* of the siren, and possibly the fish; and these in their turn are consistent with the more general chthonian interpretations of the insect advanced by Cook.

C. Conclusion

Representations of the smallest of animals, the insects and arachnids, have not been found in any great number in the sanctuaries of the gods. The slightness of the archaeological material, when it is unsupported by much relevant literary information, makes any firm judgment about appropriateness difficult. The makers of seals, and other small objects of dedication, may have found in these creatures useful decorative *motifs*; simply because their size and their special symmetry made it comparatively easy to represent them on such objects. On the other hand, all aspects of nature were relevant to the worship of the gods,

and insects and arachnids too may have been felt as appropriate in certain contexts. External evidence, both literary and iconographical, shows that the bee was of some importance in Greek religion, and more particularly, that it was associated with Artemis of Ephesos. The bee-representations found in two of Artemis' sanctuaries besides Ephesos, though not numerous, may be seen as a reflection of this association. The scorpion, with its connotations of danger and death, may have been felt as the expression of the threatening and deadly aspect not only of Artemis, but of other deities.

1. Aelian. *Historica Animalium*. XI. 8; Clement of Alexandria. *Protrepticus*. II. 34.P.

2. Pausanias. V. 14.1.

3. Pausanias. VIII. 26.7.

4. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. III. p. 559.

5. (Apollo Pornopios) Pausanias. I. 24.8.

6. Strabo. 613.

7. *API* VI. 54.

8. The same story is told by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus*. I.2P); Strabo (260-261); and in one of the epigrams (*API*. IX. 584).

9. *Ibid*. VII. 189-198.

10. *Ibid*. VI. 120.

11. Philostratus. *Imagines*. II. 17 (366K).

12. *Scholia in Homeri. Odyssey*. V. 121.

13. Pausanias. VIII. 31.1. *cf* the gloss on "essene" in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

14. *Frogs* 1273.

15. *Ephèse et Claros*. p. 237, note 3.

16. A.B. Cook. "The bee in Greek Mythology". *JHS* 15 (1895) pp. 11-12; A. Baumeister. *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*. Munich 1885-1888. Vol. I. Fig. 139.

17. Antoninus Liberalis XIX.

18. Diodorus V. 70; Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, 48.

19. See Hesychius' gloss on "Melissaios".

20. Picard, *Op. cit.* pp. 183-4.

21. Hesychius' gloss on "Melissai"; *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* IV. 60; Callimachus' *Ode to Apollo*. 110.

22. Nicander. *Alexipharmaca*. 450-451.

23. Pindar. *Pythian Odes*. IV. 59-60.

24. Pausanias. X. 5.5.

25. *API* IX. 505.5-6.

26. Pausanias. X. 6.2.

27. Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica*. IV. 1129-34.

28. *Op. cit.* pp. 19-23.

29. Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica*. III. 1035.

30. *Perachora*. II. p. 412.

31. De Ridder. p. 122.

32. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Pl. 44.2.

33. Thus it is also an appropriate shield-device for the lead warrior from Artemis Orthia.

34. *OlForsch* XII. p. 190.

35. Head. *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Ionia*. p. 48, no. 6, Pl. 9.2.

36. *Ibid*. p. 53, no. 55, Pl. 10.4.

37. Baumeister. *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*. Vol. I. p. 131. Fig. 138; W. Roscher. *Lexicon*. Vol. I. p. 588.

38. *AA* 83 (1968) pp. 410-412.

39. It is on the ivories of Artemis Orthia that the bee and the scorpion are represented. Another *motif* common to both sanctuaries is the pomegranate, with its underworld associations. Several other sanctuaries have yielded representations of this fruit (for example, Tiryns, Samos, the Delian Heraion, Lindos and Knossos) but the ivory examples found at Ephesos and Artemis Orthia are uncommon. (See *AO* p. 245, Pl. 178.4; *AS* 32 (1982) p. 78, Pl. 21c.)

40. *AO* p. 229, Pl. 168.3b & c.

41. For example, Nikander. *Alexipharmaca*. 451.
Aristotle. 553b-554a.
Columella. *De Re Rustica*. IX. 4.2-7; XI. 3.39.

42. Euripides. *Hippolytus*. 73-77.

LIONS AND OTHER BEASTS OF PREY *(See Appendix 8.14)*

A. Literary evidence

During antiquity the lion was still a wild inhabitant of Greece[1], and a danger to domestic animals; the hunting of which demanded courage, and perhaps divine aid. It is not surprising that it figures in myths of heroes, and that its images were seen in the sanctuaries of the gods. Its awesome nature, and its strength must actually have seemed to be an aspect of divinity, in an age when the gods were not noted for mildness in their dealings with men. It served also to commemorate courage in battle[2], whether the result was victory, as in Herakles' Theban memorial[3], or defeat, as in the stone lion of Chaironeia.

The killing of a lion by one hero led to the foundation of a sanctuary in Megara. This at least is the *aetion* given by Pausanias for the shrine of Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraeus, built by Alkathous son of Pelops after he had slain the lion of Kithairon[4]. When Herakles, the most famous of lion-killers, set up his victory memorial in Thebes, it took the form of a stone lion, and was dedicated in front of the temple of Artemis Eukleia. As a hunting goddess, and as Homer's *potnia theron*, Artemis was evidently felt to be a suitable divinity to receive such honours. No story, apparently, presents the goddess herself as a lion-slayer; but her power to dominate the animal is shown in some lines of Pindar, where she is described as "the lone huntress Artemis, who in Bacchic revels hath yoked the brood of savage lions for Bromius, who is enchanted even by the dancing herds of wild beasts"[5]. The nymph Cyrene moreover, who as a goddess of hills and streams, a *potnia theron* and guardian of flocks beloved by Apollo, is a type of Artemis, subdued a lion without any weapons[6]. She was the name-deity

of the city of Cyrene in Libya, in whose principal sanctuary Apollo and Artemis were worshipped side by side from Archaic times.

Artemis may be a killer of wild beasts[7]; but as we have seen, she is also a protector, especially of their young. So in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Chalkas addresses her as one who is gracious to the cubs of fierce lions[8]. Finally, the lion in its fierceness must have been regarded as an embodiment of this very quality in Artemis herself; who from early times had the reputation of being a lioness among the gods[9]. For such reasons, perhaps, lions (like deer) may sometimes have been kept in her sanctuaries. There is a suggestion of this custom, at least, in one of Theocritus' *Idylls*, where the visit to a grove of Artemis is described. On that day, many wild beasts were paraded about the goddess in her honour, including a lioness[10]. It may also be inferred from a fragment of Alkman quoted by Athenaeus that a tame lioness was kept in the sanctuary of a deity. The poet relates that during a night-festival the making of a cheese from lion's milk took place[11]. It has been suggested by some that the unnamed deity is Dionysos; but Sam Wide believed (for grammatical reasons) that a female deity is to be understood, and that this was Artemis[12]. The festival would have been held in a Laconian sanctuary: but the sanctuary described by Theocritus was in Sicily; and it was in Sicily, evidently, that some dances were performed in which lions were imitated. Both Athenaeus and Pollux refer to these lion-dances; and judging by the context of the references it is possible that like the parade of wild beasts, they were held in honour of Artemis; although Pollux mentions Dionysos as well[13], and Cook relates them to this deity[14], who was pleased by the dancing of wild beasts.

It has been seen that Dionysos shared with Artemis an interest in such wild animals as the deer, and the untamed bull; and the lion or panther too was an attribute of this god, and took part in his procession[15]: indeed, it was for him that Artemis yoked the savage lions. In Euripides' *Bacchae* he is invoked by the chorus in the shape of a lion[16]; and Pliny records the foundation of one of his temples on the spot where a man had not killed, but helped a lion by removing a thorn from its throat[17]. So the dedication of a lion's head made of iron to Dionysos at Pergamon, which Pausanias refers to, would have been appropriate[18].

But as an animal which was regarded as a symbol of the sun, the lion was also associated with Apollo[19]. He, as well as Artemis, was worshipped both in the sanctuary at Megara, and in Cyrene, the city named after the nymph whom he loved, and who slew the lion.

The sixth century Treasury of the Cyrenians at Olympia was decorated
42 by the figure of a girl carrying a small lion, and pursued by Apollo[20]. So Herodotus records that Croesus sent a golden lion to Delphi. It must have been kept in or even on the temple, since it fell when the building was burned down, and in Herodotus' day was kept in the Treasury of the Corinthians[21]. And when the Phokians of Elateia wished to give thanks to him after successfully withstanding Cassander's seige, they sent a bronze lion to Delphi, not only as a fitting symbol of fortitude in war, but also perhaps as a suitable gift for the god of the sanctuary[22]. The lions attacking their prey which fill the corners of the east pediment of Apollo's sixth century temple, may thus have had a symbolic, as well as a decorative value.

Herakles, who killed a lion, also dedicated the statue of one in commemoration of victory, and chose as its recipient Artemis. The lion

of Nemea was in fact the most famous in Greek mythology, lending not only its skin but also perhaps its nature to the hero who killed it. It must be mentioned in conclusion that this lion was divinely nurtured to be a scourge to men; not however, as might be expected, by Artemis, who was kind to the lion's young, but by Hera[23].

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) General distribution of lion-representations in sanctuaries

The myths which I have referred to suggest a closer relationship between the lion and Artemis, the mistress of wild animals and goddess of hunting, than most other Olympian deities; although they show also that Apollo the sun-god, Dionysos who presided over wild revels, and even on occasion Hera, could be associated with beasts of prey. Pausanias records noteworthy dedications of the images of lions which were made to Apollo and Dionysos; but he is silent on the subject of similar dedications made to Artemis. It is to archaeological evidence (which is generally concerned with less notable offerings) that we must look for material information on the subject.

Over 600 representations of lions and other beasts of prey were discovered in the sanctuaries under examination here, about fifty of which show the animal pursuing or attacking its victim. By far the greater number were dedicated during the Archaic period, when the image of the lion, stimulated by the influx of artefacts from the East, made its reappearance in Greece after an absence of some centuries[24]. About 130 were recorded in sanctuaries of Artemis, over half from Artemis Orthia, where there is reason to suppose that the pediment
41 of the temple may have been prominently decorated by heraldic lions[25]. But thirteen of her other sanctuaries, including Kalapodi, have also

produced their images, and the number even of those lions which were recovered was really in excess of 130, since the "numerous" terracotta lions from Kalydon are not specified; and of the lead figurines from Sparta, only the types, and not the individual examples, have been published. The number includes twenty-nine representations of beasts attacking their prey (more than half the total of this *motif*); again, mostly from Artemis Orthia, where they take the form of ivory couchant animals. About the same number of lion-representations, however, have been recorded in sanctuaries of Hera; while Athena (in eight of her sanctuaries considered here) received at least 230 ("numerous" clay plaques from Gortyn being unspecified), 170 of which came from Lindos. In general, it seems that male deities received fewer lions: fifty-five or so were recorded in sanctuaries of Apollo, about fifty in Zeus' shrines (mostly at Olympia) and seventeen in those of Poseidon.

The large number of lion-representations offered to Artemis is certainly consistent with her association with the animal as it is reflected in literature. But the same cannot be said of the distribution in general. The chief discrepancy between archaeological and literary evidence is that during the Archaic period, at least, representations of lions were felt to be suitable offerings also for Hera, whose literary association with the animal is much slighter, and for Athena, for whom literature, whether early or late, to my knowledge suggests no specific link whatsoever.

(ii) The lion, the concept of the potnia theron, and the Olympian goddesses

We have had occasion to observe that the animal attributes of the *potnia theron* may be dedicated as separate artefacts to more than one Olympian goddess[26]. It appears that the lion is no exception; since

although in literature it is chiefly associated with Artemis, its image was dedicated in considerable numbers also to Hera and Athena. The goddess (and to a lesser degree the god) flanked by lions is an oriental as well as a Cretan *motif*, and may once have referred to some divine or heroic lion-taming exploit. Yet the general impression given by Minoan and Mycenean examples is that the lions are the servants or attributes of a nature-deity: a well-known seal impression from Knossos, for instance, shows a goddess on a mountain, flanked by two lions standing on their hind-legs[27]. The Archaic representations of the *potnia theron* are sometimes more lavish in the number and type of animal that they depict with the goddess. The Boeotian *amphora* gives her heraldic water-birds as well as lions[28]; and the goddess of the bronze Grächwil *hydria* not only has two pairs of lions, but two snakes, two hares, and an eagle or hawk above her head[29]. Christou reasonably supposes that the different animals symbolize different aspects of the deity. She is the mistress not only (literally) of animals, but also (symbolically) of all things; and while the hawk may show her mastery over the air, and the water-bird over water and vegetation, the lion is the embodiment of her dominion over the earth, and in particular over the wild and fierce side of nature[30]. Even when not portrayed with the *potnia theron*, the lion might have retained much of its symbolic value; and since not only Artemis inherited traits of the Bronze Age deity, it could be regarded as a fitting dedication to other deities like Hera and Athena. Christou notes that at Perachora in particular (where nearly ninety representations of lions were recorded), Hera was a goddess very similar in character to Artemis Orthia[31]. The same might be said of Samian Hera, who received at least twenty-six such images; and whose sixth-century altar was decorated by reliefs of lions attacking

their victims - a *motif* also present on a bronze Mycenean engraving found in the sanctuary. She too was a *potnia theron*, who may have been worshipped on the same site in Mycenean times[32]; and in the historic period her head appeared on local coins whose other side depicted a lion's mask, apparently confirming the association between goddess and beast[33]. Blinkenberg has pointed out, too, that the Cypriot figurines of lions dedicated at Lindos may (like the birds of prey) refer to the deity's original character as a *potnia theron* of pre-historic ancestry[34], in spite of the lack of evidence of Bronze Age worship on the site. I have suggested that her identification with Athena came about at Lindos as at Gortyn (where numerous clay reliefs depict lions) chiefly because of the position of her sanctuary on an Acropolis. Both Samian Hera and Athena Lindia received a small number of male lion-tamers (or their fragments), also in Cypriot limestone; groups which as the epitome of wild nature under control, might be regarded as suitable dedications for both these *potniai theron*.

Cook attached an even more specific significance to lions in Bronze Age cults. He refers to an engraved agate from Vapheio on which two standing lions hold vessels on either side of a tree, and another stone on which a single lion is portrayed in the same way; and he suggests that they may be watering the tree. From this he infers that a lion-cult possibly existed in which worshippers or priests, dressed in the skins of the animal, performed certain vegetation rites[35]. Cook believed that the Sicilian lion-dances mentioned by Athenaeus and Pollux, may have been a survival from these Bronze Age rituals[36]; and that a link between lions and water also survived in historic times, so that they, like horses, often stood guard over springs and fountains[37]. Cyrene, who subdued the lion, was a water-nymph (and the great sanctuary of

Cyrene was established round a spring); and Cook pointed out that several of the exploits of Herakles, who also wore a lion-skin, were connected both with water, and with the underworld. In short, according to Cook's theory, the lion emerges as yet another symbol of water, fertility, and the world of the dead: a chthonian being whose connection (expressed in literature) with Herakles, Dionysos and death-dealing Artemis are thus explained. Cybele, who was a goddess both of vine-growing[38] and of grave-yards, was also commonly attended by a lion[39]. The chthonian nature of the lion would explain its customary use as a grave-marker; and Christou, too, has suggested that it represented, among other aspects of the *potnia theron*, her power over death[40]. This aspect, also, was passed on not only to Artemis, but to other Olympian goddesses, several of whom, incidentally, were sometimes identified with Cybele[41]. Allowing to the lion the symbolic value argued by Cook, its image may be seen as a suitable offering for Hera or Athena, even if they do not share Artemis' closer mythological associations with it.

(iii) *Representations of the potnia theron with lions in sanctuaries*

So far I have been considering the theory that lions, represented in isolation, may yet be considered as an attribute of the *potnia theron*, detached from its mistress, but retaining enough of its symbolic associations to be appropriately dedicated in the sanctuaries of more than one descendant of this goddess. The question now remains as to how often representations of the *potnia theron* herself, accompanied by her lion or lions, were dedicated in the sanctuaries of Olympian deities; and whether the distribution of these images bears any relation to the nature or identity of the deity.

At least 190 representations of the *potnia theron* with one or more beasts of prey have been recorded from the sanctuaries considered in this study. They range in date from the eighth century (to which an ivory *fibula*-plaque from Artemis Orthia belongs) to the fourth or third century (according to the dating of the terracotta figurines from Scala Greca in Sicily); although most of the heraldic type with two beasts were made and dedicated during the Archaic period. They may take the form of a pedimental sculpture (as in Artemis' Corfu temple) or a marble statue like Nikandre's *kore*; but more often they are figurines
43 of terracotta, ivory or lead; or engravings on plaques made of gold, silver, ivory, lead, terracotta or bronze, for use as pendants or as decorations on objects such as *fibulai*, vases and shields. Out of the 190 representations which I have listed, at least 165 were discovered in sanctuaries of Artemis. (Neither the terracotta females with lions from Kalydon and Claros, nor the lead winged females holding one lion, from Artemis Orthia, have been enumerated). Thirteen were dedicated in sanctuaries of Hera (including five Syrian or Hittite bronzes from the Samian Heraion); while Athena's sanctuaries yielded ten or eleven (although the three fragmentary examples from the Acropolis of a seated female holding a lion in her lap could have been dedicated to Artemis Brauronia)[42]. From Olympia come at least three bronze reliefs of varying size depicting *potniai* with lions (including one gorgon on a shield-handle); and a marble *kore* holding a lion's tail from a Laconian *perirrhanterion*. The forepart of a crouching lion, also of Laconian marble, was discovered in front of the Treasury of the Cyrenians, and was identified by the German archaeologists as part of the same vase[43]. According to their reconstruction, the bowl was supported by three such females and lions; and if it stood outside the Cyrenian

Treasury, would have been an appropriate ceremonial vessel for the city whose name-divinity was the lion-taming water-nymph celebrated
42 in the pediment of the building. Poseidon's sanctuary at Isthmia also yielded a *perirrhanterion* of this type, although in this case the base takes the form of four caryatids standing on lions. The *motif* of the *potnia theron* holding a lion by the tail also decorates one *pinax* from Penteskouphia.

One hundred and thirty-three of the *potniai theron* with beasts of prey dedicated to Artemis take the form of terracottas from the Kanoni deposit in Corcyra, and from Scalà Greca. Except for the figurines
19 from Kanoni, where a chariot-team of two deer and two panthers are shown in relief against the skirt of the goddess (reflecting her character as one able to yoke savage beasts), she is accompanied in these repres-
44 entations by only one beast. The Kanoni figurines belong to the earlier part of the fifth century; while those from Scale Greca are of the fourth or third. But apart from a fragmentary statuette found in the Ephesian sanctuary, the female on the panther from the Thasos Artemision (identified as Cybele), and the terracotta antefix from Aricia, in which a winged goddess is flanked by a pair of lions, the remaining thirty-two *potniai theron* from Artemis sanctuaries date from the Archaic period; and in these representations she may be accompanied either by a single beast, or by a heraldic pair. All the standing *potniai theron* dedicated to other deities are Archaic in date, and all of them together received fewer representations than Artemis alone during the same period. After Artemis, the deity to whom such images were most frequently dedicated was Hera who (as far as the reports specify) received thirteen. Some of the Archaic *potniai theron* are shown seated, with a lion on their lap, under their throne, or adorning their arm-rests. This type of

seated *potnia*, often associated with the Phrygian mother-goddess Cybele[44], has been related to Hera among the Olympian goddesses[45]; and two figurines of the type were found in the Delian Heraion, while the large marble statue whose arm-rest is decorated by a seated lion, comes from her sanctuary in Samos. But three of the type were found on the Athenian Acropolis, two at Lindos, one at Brauron, and an unspecified number at Kalydon; the ivory pair of deities under whose throne a lion crouches was dedicated to Artemis Orthia; while at Halicarnassus Demeter received more than one terracotta of this kind. So it is clear that the seated *potnia* is not to be linked only with Hera, but could also refer to Artemis, Athena, and Demeter.

The distribution of *potnia theron*-representations in sanctuaries allows us to draw certain conclusions about dedicatory custom; although they must, as always, be tempered by a realisation of the partial nature of archaeological evidence. First, after the ending of the Archaic period, such votives took the form of figurines rather than decorative *motifs*; and they were apparently associated only with Artemis, and offered only to her. But even during earlier times, when many of the representations took the form of jewellery or decorations on other objects, Artemis received more of them than any other deity: Hera is the only one, apart from her, to receive more than a very few. Even in the Archaic period, then, it is possible that in dedicating such artefacts, the worshipper felt he was making an appropriate offering to Artemis, the *potnia theron* of Homer. Nikandre's *kore*, moreover, whose hands are pierced to hold leashes, possibly for marble lions like the pair found in the same vicinity beside temple D[46], is no mere decoration, but an important votive monument; and there are material indications (though admittedly of a fragmentary kind) that a gigantic *potnia* with lions may have stood within the precincts of Croesus' temple at Ephesos.

Finally, the pedimental sculpture of Artemis' Corcyra temple, despite the gorgonian nature of the central figure, surely identifies the patron of the sanctuary in this fierce *potnia* with the beasts of prey.

C. Conclusion

The distribution of *potniai theron* is consistent with the literary evidence which associates Artemis chiefly, and to a much lesser degree, Hera, with beasts of prey[47]; whereas, as we have seen, the distribution of lions in isolation presents rather a different picture. Many were indeed dedicated to Artemis, especially in her Spartan sanctuary; but considerable numbers were also found in sanctuaries not only of Hera but also of Athena. It is possible that this distribution may reflect the part played by instinctive custom, as opposed to deliberate and conscious choice, in dedication. Thus lions were offered in great quantity to Athena Lindia, because she had been a *potnia theron*, and the lion is an attribute of such a deity. The lions of Lindos were a residual and perhaps unconscious acknowledgment of her original nature. But no representations of the standing goddess with lions was found in the Lindian sanctuary. In the dedication of a goddess accompanied by beasts of prey, a conscious identification of Artemis with Homer's *potnia theron*, and with the goddess who yoked Dionysos' lions for him, or strengthened Alkathous' hand against the lion of Kithairon, may have been operative even in the Archaic period, and influenced the dedicator's choice. Some representations of the *motif* found their way into other sanctuaries during the Archaic period, particularly into those of Hera, another *potnia* whose association with the lion found an echo in literature. But by the fifth century, it is probable that representations of the goddess with the lion were dedicated to Artemis alone.

Footnotes

1. Pausanias. VI.5.4-5; Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. IV. p. 16.

2. Rouse, pp. 44 and 231. See also *Iliad*. XII. 41-48.

3. Pausanias. IX.17.1.

4. *Ibid*. I.41.4.

5. *Dithyramb for the Thebans*. 19-23 (Loeb Pindar. p. 561).

6. Pindar. *Pythian Odes*. 17-28 (Artemis presented her with two dogs for hunting. Callimachus. *Hymn to Artemis*. 206-7).

7. Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. 1570.

8. Aeschylus. *Agamemnon*. 140-141.

9. *Iliad*. XXI.483.

10. Theocritus. *Idylls*. II.66-68.

11. Athenaeus. 499a.

12. Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. pp. 131-2.

13. Athenaeus. 629f; Pollux. *Onomastikon*. 103-4.

14. *JHS* 14 (1894) pp. 116-117.

15. *RE* 13.1 (1926) 983.

16. *Bacchae*. 1017.

17. *Nat. Hist.* VIII.21.56-58.

18. Pausanias. X.18.5.

19. *RE* 13.1 (1926) *Loc. cit.*; in *BCH* 37 (1913) pp. 257-260, Delatte showed that the solar symbolism of the lion came to Greece from the East.

20. *Olympia*. III. (Georg. Treu. *Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon*. Berlin. 1897). pp. 19-23, Figs. 18-20, Pl. 4.4.

21. Herodotus. I.50.

22. Pausanias. X.18.6.

23. Hesiod. *Theogony*. 326-329.

24. However, a Geometric example of a pair of heraldic lions decorated the leg of a bronze tripod from Olympia. (*OlForsch* III. Pl. 63.1).

25. The fragment of a lion's mane in painted poros (found in front of the temple) may have been part of a pedimental group (*AO* p. 21, Pl. 5). Two small limestone reliefs, contemporary with the building of the sixth century temple, represent pediments in which a pair of couchant lions face each other heraldically, each with one raised paw [*ibid.* p. 23, Fig. 11]. Similar small limestone reliefs represent architrave, metope and capital. All of these, including the pediments, may be models for parts of the contemporary temple. See Plate 41.

26. See above, Birds, pp. 53-56.

27. William Taylour. *The Myceneans*. London. 1964 and 1983. Fig. 19. Mycenean gems depicting similar scenes are illustrated in Mylonas'. *Mycene and the Mycenean Age*. Figs. 124.21; 125.32; 126.26.

28. *AM* 50 (1925) p. 160, Fig. 1.

29. Hoenn. *Artemis*. p. 48, Pl. 1.

30. *Potnia Theron*. pp. 13, 25, 52, 55 and 100.

31. *Ibid*. p. 191.

32. Walter. *Das Heraion von Samos*. pp. 13-15.

33. Head. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*. pp. 363-368, Pl. 35.18; Pl. 36.2-4.

34. *Lindos*. I. p. 30.

35. *JHS* 14 (1894) pp. 106-108, Figs. 6 and 7.

36. *Ibid*. p. 116.

37. *Ibid*. p. 112. The bronze lion's head on which a frog perches served this purpose in the Samian Heraion (*AM* 55 (1930) p. 46, Pl. 1).

38. Cook. *Op. cit*. p. 114.

39. See *BCH* 13 (1889) pp. 543-560.

40. *Potnia theron*. p. 194.

41. The fifth century historian Charon, quoting Photinus, says that Kybebe was the name given by the Lydians and Phrygians to Aphrodite [C. Miller. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Paris. 1841-70. Vol. 4, p. 627]; and Hesychius, in his gloss on the same deity, identifies her both with Aphrodite and with Artemis, while in one of his choruses, Euripides equates the mother of the gods (Cybele) with Demeter [*Helen*. 1301-1352].

42. The writer of the report in *AA* 8 (1893) (p. 146) suggests that they were dedicated to the Mother of the gods (Cybele); but a similar figurine was dedicated to Artemis at Brauron.

43. *Olympia*. III. p. 29.

44. See *BCH* 13 (1889) pp. 543-60.

45. Christou. *Potnia theron*. p. 194.

46. *BCH* 48 (1924) p. 415.

47. As for Apollo's symbolic link, as sun-god, with the lion, it may be more than pure chance that the most notable example of the far rarer *potnios theron*, the Eastern ivory male statuette with one lion, was dedicated in his sanctuary at Delphi.

RAMS AND SHEEP *(See Appendix 8.15)*

A. Literary evidence

(i) Sheep as sacrificial animals

There is literary evidence to show that the sheep, as one of the most readily available animals, was frequently sacrificed, not only to the Olympian gods, but to divinities such as Pan, the Nymphs, Asklepios, and to heroes[1]. Thus Agamemnon sacrificed many sheep to Artemis Kolainis at Amarynthos[2]; Lacon, one of Theocritus' shepherds, declares that he is rearing a fine ram for Apollo[3]; the famous golden-fleeced ram which carried Phrixus to Colchis was sacrificed to Zeus[4]; and in the *Odyssey* Poseidon appears as the recipient of rams as well as bulls[5]. Aphrodite received sheep as victims in Cyprus during the month of April, and at her sanctuary at Eryx in Sicily[6]; while one of the Dedicatory Epigrams records the sacrifice of a ewe to Demeter[7].

(ii) Sheep and the gods

The ram shared with the he-goat a reputation for lust and fertility which may have caused it to be associated with Aphrodite, as Orth suggests[8]. But literature apparently offers no illustration or explanation of such a link; and for this reason Nilsson dismisses a theory, advanced by Robertson Smith, that it was because of its actual identification with the sheep-goddess Aphrodite that in Cyprus the sacrificial animal was burnt whole in its fleece[9]. However, its supposed characteristics of lust and fertility may explain why a story was told about Hermes and a ram in connection with the Mysteries of Demeter, which Pausanias could not repeat[10]. A tale told by Clement of Alexandria on purpose to illustrate the depravity of the Pagan Greek religion, also concerns

Demeter and a ram, and may be close to the one mentioned by Pausanias. The other deity concerned in this story was not Hermes, but Zeus, who having offended Demeter by committing rape, tore off the testicles of a ram, and threw them into her lap, claiming (in false repentance) that they were his own[11]. This tale sounds very like an *aetion* for a fertility ritual involving rams.

Hermes,who was often portrayed as ithyphallic, is perhaps the god most specifically linked with the ram in mythology. It was he who sent the golden ram to rescue Phrixus and Helle from sacrifice[12]. He also used a ram to save the people of Tanagra, by carrying it round the walls of their city[13]. For this reason he was given the title of Kriophoros in Tanagra, and the Archaic sculptor Kalamis made a statue of him with the ram on his shoulders. Pausanias saw another ram-carrying statue of Hermes in the Karnasian grove of Oichalia in Messenia[14]; where the presence of a statue of Kore again suggests a possible link with the Mysteries. But in mythology, Hermes is acknowledged from early times as a herd-god, and given the title of Epimelius, keeper of flocks[15]. It is in terms of this role that Pausanias interprets another statue of the god outside Corinth, where a seated bronze Hermes has a ram standing beside him[16]. Pausanias quotes from the *Iliad*, where the wealth of the Trojan sheep-owner Phorbas is increased through Hermes' favour[17]; and notes that he is the god who seems to have most interest in flocks and in their increase.

The other deity to be concerned with flocks, as with herds, is Apollo, whose statue stood in the Karnasian grove with that of Hermes[18]. Like Hermes, he was given the title of Epimelius, and worshipped under it in Cameiros[19]; and in Lesbos he was known as Arnokomis ("with a sheep's fleece")[20], an epithet which suggests that he may have worn

the fleece, and possibly even have been identified with the animal at one time. The title of Karneios, which was frequently given to Apollo, especially in Laconia, certainly suggests a very close association between the god and the ram. Pausanias refers to eleven places where Apollo Karneios had a sanctuary or a statue[21]; and according to Callimachus he was worshipped not only in Sparta, but also in Thera and Cyrene[22]. At the *karneia*, rams were sacrificed; in fact it is for this feast that Theocritus' shepherd was keeping his ram[23].

According to mythology, Karneios himself was a son of Zeus who was nurtured by Apollo and Leto[24]. But in all probability he was a primitive deity, worshipped in the Peloponnese before the advent of the Dorians, a shepherd-god in whom they saw a manifestation of their own god Apollo, and whose name they preserved as one of his titles[25]. In the *karneia*, a man decked with garlands was pursued by young men wearing clusters of grapes[26]; a rite which suggests that Karneios was also a divinity of vintage and harvest[27]. Wide suggests that originally not a man, but a garlanded ram would have been pursued and killed to ensure a successful harvest (a practice which left its trace in the sacrifice of rams). Pausanias' story of the killing of Apollo's prophet Karnos (whom he distinguishes from Karneios) by Hippotes, is no doubt an aetiological account of the same rite[28]. At all events, Karnos, Karneios and Krios (in whose house, according to Pausanias, the pre-Dorian sanctuary of Karneios was) all carry the same meaning, deriving from "ram"[29], and the ram was seen as the incarnation of the divinity honoured in the *karneia*[30]. This pre-Dorian divinity might well have been conceived as having a ram's shape[31].

The theory of a ram-god eventually identified with Apollo has received some support in the discovery of an Archaic marble ram-headed

Herm in Las, one of the Laconian cities in which Apollo Karneios was worshipped[32]. Moreover near Sparta, where he had more than one sanctuary, and which was evidently the centre of his cult, a dedication to Karneios was found, bearing above the text a relief interpreted by A.M. Woodward as a pair of ram's horns[33]. Finally, coins from certain cities represent a ram-shaped deity who may be Apollo Karneios. In Cyrene, for example, where the *karneia* are known to have been celebrated, and where the chief sanctuary belonged to Apollo, some coins bore the head of a young man with ram's horns, who is identified by E.S.G. Robinson as Karneios[34]. In all respects save the horns, the youthful head appears like Apollo's. In short, although there are apparently no legends specifically involving Apollo with sheep, as there are for Hermes in the stories of the Golden Fleece, and the saving of Tanagra from plague, it is evident that his relationship with the animal was close. Like Hermes, he was a god of flocks; and like his pre-Dorian forerunner Karneios he may even have been worshipped in a ram's shape.

B. Archaeological evidence

(i) Evidence of sacrifice: bones, and cult-scenes

Literary evidence that sheep were acceptable as victims to most deities has received some confirmation in the discovery of their bones at a few sanctuaries, belonging to different gods. They were found beside the altar of Artemis at Ephesos (though not in such quantity as goats' bones), and beneath the Archaic Artemision of Delos. They were sacrificed (like goats) at the Kalapodi sanctuary to Artemis or Apollo. Poseidon's sanctuary at Isthmia, and Demeter's at Cyrene also yielded sheep-bones (though pigs were far more common at Cyrene),

in material confirmation of the evidence offered in the *Odyssey*, and the dedicatory epigram. Inside the Lindian Acropolis, where no burnt offerings were made, the presence of their bones suggests that sacred meals consumed in Athena's sanctuary included sheep's flesh.

On the Acropolis of Athens, where burnt offerings did take place (although apparently no animal-bones survived there), the sheep pictured in the sacred procession of the Parthenon frieze are iconographical evidence of their sacrifice at Athena's feast; though they are greatly outnumbered by cattle on the frieze that survives. Three dedicatory reliefs of cult-scenes found on the Acropolis also depict sheep as sacrificial victims; and although no bones were apparently discovered at Delphi, the practice of sheep-sacrifice there is attested by a fourth century marble relief in which the victim is being led in procession towards Apollo, Artemis and Leto. Finally, one of the column-pedestals of Ephesos, on which a *nike* is shown leading the sacrificial sheep, offers sculptural corroboration of the evidence of the bones unearthed in the sanctuary.

The *kriophoroi*, the sheep-carriers termed by Blinkenberg "sacrificateurs", and found in sanctuaries of Apollo, Athena, Hera, Demeter and possibly Artemis, may also be interpreted as evidence of sheep-sacrifice. But alternative meanings may be attached to them, and will be discussed shortly.

(ii) Representations of rams and sheep in sanctuaries

About 240 representations of sheep were found in the sanctuaries under examination. According to the reports, Zeus, Hera, Athena and Apollo (for whose sanctuaries of Maleatas, Dreros and Naukratis exact numbers are not given) received approximately equal quantities

of this type of animal-dedication (about twenty or thirty each). Almost none have been reported from the sanctuaries of Demeter and Poseidon considered here; but relatively few animal-representations were discovered in their sanctuaries (apart from Penteskouphia, where sheep are entirely unrepresented). But nearly half the entire total of reported sheep-representations come from a single sanctuary: the Spartan shrine of Artemis Orthia, where there are 106. The numbers of sheep at the Artemision of Thasos have not been specified, but it seems likely that over half the total from the sanctuaries listed were dedicated to Artemis, although without the Orthia group, about the same quantity would have belonged to her as to Zeus, Hera, Athena and Apollo. At the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia itself, ninety-four of the sheep (that is, about 90% of them) took the form of ivory couchant rams, probably made in Sparta between 820 and 635 BC[35].

It may be observed from the fairly even distribution of sheep-representations in the sanctuaries of Apollo, Zeus, Hera, Athena and (setting aside for the moment the ivory couchant rams from Sparta) of Artemis, that the special association of Apollo with flocks which is expressed in literature, is scarcely reflected in the pattern of dedications. Apollo received his share of this type of votive, but apparently in no greater frequency than other deities; and it seems that his connection with the ram-god Karneios, and the importance of the *karneia* in his worship, has not resulted in a particularly large number of sheep-dedications in his sanctuaries, even in the Laconian ones; although it must be said that at none of these sanctuaries (apart from Cyrene perhaps) was he worshipped with the title of Karneios. If his sanctuary at Las[36], where the ram-headed herm may have been dedicated, were clearly identified and excavated, more evidence might emerge. A striking dedication which

was discovered in one of Apollo's known sanctuaries, however, and which might reflect his special association with the ram, is the gigantic marble *kriophoros* from Thasos[37]. At Delphi the contrastingly small bronze figurine of a man accompanied by a ram could reflect the same association; and being Geometric it is perhaps the earliest example of this *motif* to be found in the sanctuaries under discussion. I have examined no sanctuary where Hermes was worshipped alone; and can therefore offer no evidence about sheep-representations offered to the god most often shown in mythology as having control over rams, and care for the increase of flocks. Hermes, like Aphrodite, had his cult in the Samian Heraion, and it is possible that some of the sheep-representations reported from this sanctuary may have been dedicated to either of these deities in preference to Hera. But fifteen rams or rams' heads were certainly dedicated to Hera, and to no other deity, at Perachora, and the sheep of Samos might all equally have belonged to her.

If the even distribution of sheep-representations does not reflect the pattern of divine association which emerges from literature, may we then conclude that they do, however, correspond to the more general custom of sacrificing sheep to the gods? The possibility cannot be excluded; but neither can it be accepted without hesitation: the sheep-bones which bear witness to sacrificial custom at Isthmia, for example, apparently have no counterpart in artefacts representing the animal, apart from the decorative rams' heads on the *perirrhanterion*. On the other hand, the horse, which was one of the animals least often sacrificed, is also one of those most often represented in dedications. A correlation between representations and sacrificial custom cannot therefore be assumed.

I believe that the role of Hermes and Apollo as herd-gods which is reflected in literature, but which seems to run counter to the general distribution

of rams and sheep in sanctuaries, may in reality offer a possible explanation for their presence in the sanctuaries of other gods, an explanation which is not directly concerned with the practice of sheep-sacrifice.
It was suggested by Heilmeyer that the early figurines of cattle and horses in clay and bronze at Olympia were an indication of the importance of these domestic animals and their nurture, in the lives of the worshippers[38]. The divinity at Olympia was regarded as one who had power to help the husbandman, and prosper his herds. A divinity apparently having a similar concern with husbandry was worshipped not far away in the much smaller sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis near Kombothreka, where the same types of animal-representation were found, though in smaller numbers than at Olympia[39]. In fact there is probably scarcely any god or goddess who in early times was not invoked by the breeder of domestic animals, and who did not, at least on occasion, share the roles of Apollo and Hermes as divinities who took care of herds and flocks. Poseidon, whose realm was not the land, may have been an exception: but even he, while not apparently concerned with sheep, was associated with bulls, and kept horses under the sea[40]. The even distribution of sheep-representations in the sanctuaries of a number of deities may simply bear witness that these deities shared a common role in religious practice, which is not reflected in the mythology known from literature. In short, the local god in the nearest sanctuary, at least in the Geometric period, was responsible for all aspects of life.

The *kriophoroi* which were dedicated in a few sanctuaries, are similarly open to more than one interpretation. They were dedicated to deities who also received the images of sheep in isolation, to Athena, Hera, Artemis Orthia and Apollo - but also to Demeter at Knossos. The greatest numbers recorded took the form of Archaic limestone statuettes, imported from

Cyprus and dedicated to Athena Lindia. The *motif* of the man carrying a ram on his shoulders fits Pausanias' description of the statue of Hermes Kriophoros at Tanagra, and the possibility that these dedications, too, are supposed to represent Hermes, or perhaps Apollo Epimelius cannot entirely be excluded. Certainly, the more than human size of the Thasos *kriophoros* suggests that it is a god, and since it was found on the eastern summit of the Acropolis, where Pythian Apollo had a sanctuary, it is probable that the god was Apollo himself. A terracotta *kriophoros* from the Heraion of Samos might have been dedicated to Hermes, who was worshipped in the sanctuary, as an image of himself. But in general, these small figurines, dedicated in sanctuaries which have nothing to do with either Hermes or Apollo, should probably be regarded as human beings. If they are human, they may be worshippers bringing a victim to be sacrificed: Blinkenberg, in acknowledgement of this interpretation, refers to the Cypriot limestone figurines from Lindos as "sacrificateurs". But just as the sheep in isolation may not commemorate a burnt offering, but rather invoke divine protection for the flock, so the *kriophoroi* may represent a shepherd caring for one of his flock. Blinkenberg himself, recognizing this other interpretation, notes that the term "sacrificateur" is a convention, particularly in view of the fact that no animal sacrifice took place in Athena's sanctuary[41]. He adds that as the figurines are Cypriot imports, they may anyway have nothing to do with the cult; but if the Cypriot lions and hawks may be seen as appropriate dedications for the Lindian goddess (which Blinkenberg believes) then the *kriophoroi*, of which as many as twenty survive in part, cannot necessarily be dismissed as meaningless. The same type of Cypriot limestone figurine was dedicated in the Samian Heraion either to Hera herself, or to Hermes or Aphrodite. But whether or not these Cypriot *kriophoroi* had originally

been manufactured with the worship of Aphrodite in mind, their dedication not only in the sanctuary of Samian Hera (where Aphrodite had her cult), but also in the Lindian sanctuary, may have been felt as appropriate because both Samian Hera and Athena Lindia, like the Cyprian Aphrodite, were fertility-deities, concerned with the increase of man and beast.

Artemis Orthia was essentially a goddess of agriculture, and of animals domesticated as well as wild, of husbandry as well as hunting[42]. The small handmade figurine of the man carrying a beast may be seen as an expression of this aspect of her character too; and it is understandable that representations of rams and sheep in a variety of materials should have been dedicated in her Spartan sanctuary. That as many as ninety-four of the 162 ivory couchant animals found in the sanctuary should take the form of rams, however, is more surprising. Most of the other animals of this type have a recognised association with Artemis: the dogs were suitable for a hunting goddess; the lions devouring their prey for a *potnia theron*; and the bear had a special place in some cults of Artemis. But the local workshop which produced these animals, quite possibly for the specific purpose of dedication to Artemis Orthia[43], evidently chose to make more rams than any other type of beast[44]. It may be that they were more easily and effectively rendered in the medium; and that the choice was simply a technical one. The maker may have possessed an eastern model, similar to those dedicated in the Ephesian Artemision, for example, and found it convenient to make copies of this. But I shall permit myself to make one suggestion as to a possible religious motive for their dedication; while acknowledging that it is a speculation which can hardly be substantiated by solid evidence at present. The city where the *karneia* had their most established tradition was evidently Sparta; and near its race-course was a sanctuary held in common by Apollo Karneios,

Artemis Hegemones and Eileithyia[45]. Thus it seems that in Sparta, where Artemis was associated with the agricultural goddess Orthia, she was also in some measure associated with the cult of the ram-god Karneios, who himself became identified with Apollo. Nor, surely, can it be by accident that Eileithyia, whose concern is with human reproduction, should be present both in the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios, and in that of Artemis Orthia[46]. I believe that the numerous ivory rams found in Limnai may possibly be an acknowledgement of Artemis' Spartan connection with the *karneia*, which resembled the cult of Orthia in its strongly agrarian character, and in which rams played an important part, not only as sacrificial victims, but also, very possibly, in the original appearance of the deity. In the other sanctuaries of Artemis examined in this study, sheep-representations were found in no greater numbers than in the sanctuaries of other deities. If their numerous presence in Limnai has a religious significance, which is possible, I believe it must be seen in terms of the interaction of local cults.

C. Conclusion

Representations of sheep, though not dedicated to the gods in such great numbers as certain other animals, are found in roughly equal quantities in sanctuaries of Zeus, Hera, Apollo and Athena. Artemis received about the same amount of this type of dedication; except for the large number of ivory couchant rams discovered at her Spartan sanctuary. Neither this even distribution, or the numerous Orthia rams, corresponds directly to any mythological connection between sheep and the gods. The role played by this animal in known myths is anyway slight; the deities most often associated with it are Hermes and Apollo, who were regarded as guardians of herds and flocks; and

neither of them apparently received more sheep-representations than other deities. Nor, in spite of the custom of sacrificing sheep to all the gods, do I believe that their representations were necessarily dedicated in order to commemorate the sacrifice of a real victim. I have suggested that in early times the roles of Hermes Kriophoros and Apollo Epimelius and Karneios as keepers of flocks were shared by most if not all deities; and that the presence in their sanctuaries of sheep and rams, and of the less common *kriophoroi*, are testimonies of the reliance of the husbandman on their divine protection. Finally, I have tried to show that there may be a religious motive for the frequent dedication of rams to Artemis Orthia, in her association in Sparta with Apollo Karneios, in whose honour one of the principal Spartan feasts, once sacred to the ram-god Karneios, was held.

Footnotes

1. *RE* 2 A1 (1921) 394-5. For Asklepios, see Pausanias. II.11.7.
2. Aristophanes. *Scholia in Aves*. 873.
3. Theocritus. *Idylls*. V.82-83.
4. Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. I.81-83; Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica*. II.1141-47.
5. *Odyssey*. I.25.
6. Lydus. *De Mensibus*. IV.45; Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. X.50 *cf*. Nilsson. *Griechische Feste*. p. 368.
7. *API* VI.258.
8. *RE op cit*. 392.
9. Nilsson. *Loc cit*.
10. Pausanias.II.3.4.
11. Clement of Alexandria. *Protrepticus*. II.13.

12. Apollonius and Apollodoros. *Loc cit*. Pausanias says it was Zeus, but he may have been confused because the animal was eventually sacrificed to Zeus (Pausanias. IX.34.4).

13. Pausanias. IX.22.2.

14. Pausanias. IV.34.4.

15. Pausanias. IX.34.2.

16. *Ibid*. II.3.4.

17. *Iliad*. XIV.490.

18. Pausanias. IV.33.4.

19. Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. I.17.45.

20. *Ibid. Loc. cit.*

21. Sparta (two sanctuaries), Pausanias. III.13.3-6; II.14.16.
Gythion (a statue or sanctuary), III.21.8.
Las (temple), III.24.8.
Oitylon (wooden statue in the Agora), III.25.10.
Leuktra (wooden statues), III.26.5.
Kardamyle (statue), III.26.7.
Pharai (sacred grove of Apollo Karneios), IV.31.1.
Oichalia (statue in the Karnasian grove), IV.33.4.
Sikyon (inner chamber of Apollo Karneios inside the sanctuary of Asklepeios; sanctuary of Apollo Karneios), II.10.2; II.11.2.

22. Callimachus. *Hymn to Apollo*. 71-3 *cf* Pindar. *Pythian Odes* 68-76.

23. Theocritus. *Idylls*. V.82-3.

24. Pausanias. III.13.5.

25. Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. p. 74. Pausanias notes that Karneios was worshipped in Sparta "even before the return of the children of Herakles" [III.13.3].

26. Bekker. *Anecdota Graeca*. I. p. 305.25.

27. See Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. III, p. 332; Wide. *Lakonische Kulte*. pp. 78-80; Nilsson. *Griechische Feste*. p. 121.

28. Pausanias. III.13.4.

29. Hesychius' gloss on *Καρνος*.

30. Wide. *Op cit*. p. 84.

31. *RE* 10.2 (1919) 1990.

32. *AM* 29 (1904) p. 22, Fig. 1. Schröder saw the herm as a representation of Apollo Karneios (pp. 23-4).

33. *BSA* 15 (1908-9) pp. 81-85.

34. E.S.G. Robinson. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica.* (British Museum) London 1927. For example: p. 16, no. 68, Pl. 7.29; p. 24, no. 100, Pl. 12.14 (a gold, and a silver coin, dated between 435 and 308 BC). Another deity with rams' horns represented on Cyrenian coins is Ammon, but he is always bearded, as befits his identification with Zeus.

35. *AO* p. 231, and p. 248.

36. Pausanias. III.24.8. See above, note 32.

37. *Guide de Thasos*. pp. 55 and 115. The statue, still unfinished, was found in fragments in the retaining wall of the Pytheion.

38. *OlForsch* VII. pp. 87-8.

39. *AM* 96 (1981) pp. 37-8, and pp. 40-41.

40. See Athenaeus. 466 d. (Loeb. Vol. 5, p. 34).

41. *Lindos*. I. pp. 429-30.

42. *AO* pp. 402-3.

43. They do not appear to have been dedicated in the Spartan sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos.

44. At Perachora, where the greatest number of this type of ivory has been found apart from Artemis Orthia, and where the examples are probably imports from Sparta (see *Perachora*. II. p. 408), the ram is also the most common animal, numbering four or five out of a total of twelve.

45. Pausanias. III.14.6.

46. *AO* p. 402.

SNAKES *(See Appendix 8.16)*

A. Literary evidence and Bronze Age tradition

(i) The Minoan snake-goddess

No literary evidence can inform us of the part played by the snake in the religion of the Minoan and Mycenean civilizations. But surviving artefacts provide an unwritten testimony of its importance in Bronze Age cults. Two Middle Minoan faience statuettes from the Temple Repositories at Knossos depict females wearing the flounced skirt of the day, and holding snakes. One, generally interpreted as a goddess, has three of the creatures curling round her body, arms, and head; the other (who may be a priestess) holds up a small snake in her one remaining hand[1]. From a Late Minoan domestic shrine at Gournia came a bell-shaped terracotta idol with a snake round her body[2]; and at Prinias two arms, broken from figurines and entwined with snakes, were discovered. The Prinias fragments may belong to the sub-Minoan period, and show the continuing relevance of the snake to human concerns, and probably to religion[3]. In the same archaeological context at Gournia[4], and also in Prinias[5], Late Minoan tubular vessels on which snakes were depicted in relief, also came to light. In mainland Greece, the connection between snakes and the religion of the palace is shown by the large coiled terracotta snakes discovered in the cult-centre of Mycenae[6]. All of these artefacts were found in domestic shrines or within a citadel; and Nilsson drew a distinction between the rustic cults involving trees and dances, and the mountain-top *potnia theron* cult, both of which are depicted on gems, but for which no shrines or images apparently survive; and the domestic cults, not illustrated on the gems, but leaving their trace in idols and vessels discovered in

palace shrines[7]. It is with this latter form of worship that the snake is associated; and Nilsson therefore saw it as a guardian of the house, to be honoured and protected by the inhabitants[8].

(ii) The snake and the Olympian gods

The presence of the snake in the literature of the historic age, often in connection with gods, shows anew its significance in religion, a significance which very possibly had never been lost. There is scarcely a divinity with which it is not in some way associated; an indication, perhaps, that there is scarcely an Olympian deity who did not absorb aspects of Bronze Age worship. Artemidorus lists Zeus, Dionysos, Apollo, Demeter, Kore and Hekate as gods to whom serpents were sacred (apart from Asklepios and the heroes[9]); but Plutarch notes that it was Athena (not mentioned by Artemidorus) to whom the snake was sacred[10].

(iii) The snake as a guardian in sanctuaries

The Bronze Age role of the snake as a guardian of dwellings evidently continued in historic times, although as far as literature informs us, it is now a guardian of divine, rather than human property. The serpent which Apollo killed at Delphi lived in the chasm of an oracle which belonged to the Earth-goddess[11]. But it is possible that a sacred snake continued to be kept at Delphi, and to be regarded as a reincarnation of the original Python. At least, Clement of Alexandria's version of the story of Eunomus may be thus interpreted: for the musician whose broken lyre-string was replaced by a cicada's song was singing a funeral ode at Pytho, in honour of a dead serpent, and afterwards dedicated a bronze cicada to Apollo[12]. On the other hand, the funeral

ode may have been a retrospective one, sung for the original Python slain by the god. But according to Aelian, a live snake was certainly kept, and even worshipped,in a shrine of Apollo in Epirus, where it was not regarded as a victim of the god, but as his pet ("athyrma")[13]. I believe that even the snakes at Epidaurus and at Kos, the attributes and healing agents of Asklepios, may well have begun by being guardians of the old sanctuaries of Apollo[14].

It is possible that snakes (or a snake) were kept in Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis. At least, Strabo's story of the serpent Cychreides, who was driven out of Salamis, and given refuge in Eleusis by Demeter, sounds like the *aetion* for such a practice[15]. But literary evidence is unequivocal about the presence of a guardian serpent in Athena's sanctuary on the Acropolis of Athens: since according to Herodotus, when it left its honeycake untouched before the coming of the Persians, the Athenians believed that the city had been deserted by the goddess, and so abandoned it themselves[16]. The snake's presence on the Acropolis is recorded also in pictorial terms; for in one marble relief depicting a sacrificial scene, it appears beside the altar of the goddess[17].

(iv) *The snake as a symbol of life and death*

The complete significance of the snake in the domestic Bronze Age cults cannot be known without a contemporary literature. That it was regarded as a guardian spirit of the house seems evident from the context of the artefacts found. But the images and vessels cannot inform us as to whether it might be regarded as in some way ensuring the fertility of the inhabitants; or as a link between the living and the dead of that house. The presence of ivory pomegranate flowers (which were in later times known as symbols of the underworld) in the

Knossos Repository where the snake-goddesses were found, suggests that it may have been[18]; and the mythology of later times, which hints at such a meaning, may itself have been a Bronze Age legacy.

Greek writers agreed in regarding serpents as children of the earth[19]; the oracle guarded by the Delphian Python belonged to Gaia and Themis, personifications of the Earth who, when Apollo was patron of the sanctuary, retained their own inner shrine immediately to the south of his temple[20]. The earth, in which the dead are buried, and seeds germinate, both absorbs death, and is the source of life: the serpent, spending much of its time in the ground, was thus associated with both. This assumption probably lay behind the stories of infant male deities, sons of the earth, and often connected with vegetation, who assumed a serpent's shape: Athena's foster-child Erichthonios, whom Homer calls a child of the fruitful Earth[21]; and Sosipolis, the child who saved the Eleians from their enemies, before turning into a serpent and disappearing into the earth. At Olympia Sosipolis was worshipped with Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, "because the goddess herself had brought that child into the world"[22]. On the other hand, Erichthonios, or Erechtheus (Frazer considered them to be the same[23]) grew to adulthood, and became the heroic king of the Athenians. As an infant, he was regarded either as half-snake, half-human[24]; or as entirely serpent-shaped[25]; or merely as a human child in a chest or basket, round whom guardian-snakes were coiled[26]. A fifth century statue of Athena, from Crete, shows Athena holding a snake in a basket, and thus fulfilling her role of foster-mother to the child[27]; and Pausanias believed that the serpent coiled at the feet of her chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon, might have been Erichthonios[28]. When the hero came to die, he was buried in the Erechtheum[29]; and very possibly

the sacred serpent, which according to Hesychius was kept in this building, was regarded as an incarnation of Erichthonios himself.

In the legend of Sosipolis, birth is brought near to death: the disappearance of the snake into the ground implying the death of the child, supernatural being though he was[30]. The snake in fact becomes the dead being; and there is no lack of iconographical evidence to show that this was a concept which the Greeks had also about dead humans[31]. Alternatively, the snake might be seen as a companion of the dead, or a protector of the tomb[32]; and Cerberus himself, who guarded the entire underworld, was sometimes depicted as partly snake-shaped[33].

(v) The snake and the Archaic potnia theron

The snake's association with the earth and thus both with new life, and with death, (which found mythological and iconographical expression during the historic period) may also have invested it with significance in Minoan and Mycenean cults. It is probable that the snake-shaped Sosipolis and Erichthonios were prehistoric fertility-gods[34]; while Ge, who kept the Python of Delphi, was a prehistoric earth-goddess. At Olympia, the Athenian Acropolis and Delphi, the sanctuaries associated with these serpent deities, there is indeed some archaeological evidence for the existence of Mycenean cults[35]. During the Early Archaic period, when the *potnia theron* made her reappearance in Greek art, the snake was one of the creatures represented with her. A seventh century *pinax* from the north slope of the Areopagus depicts a goddess with raised arms, between two standing snakes, and fragments of four or five more plaques with this *motif* were found in the same place[36]. The unnamed deity of the plaques may have been a descendant of the

Bronze Age snake-goddess; but in general the Archaic *potnia theron* is not represented with snakes as exclusive attributes. Where these are present, she is usually a more composite figure, pictured as the mistress of more than one kind of animal. It has been noted that the goddess on the Grächwil *hydria*, for example, is accompanied by hares, lions, and an eagle, as well as by the two snakes which appear from behind her head[37]. So it seems that the snake, which literally inhabited the palaces of Bronze Age Crete and Greece (whatever religious significance it may have had there) had, by the Archaic period generally become one of a number of attributes belonging to the *potnia theron*. Christou, examining its meaning within this context, sees it as a symbol both of fertility and increase, and also of the grave and death[38] - a view which is consistent both with its mythological connections with new-born male deities, and with its representation in funerary scenes. Another Archaic type of snake-goddess, not so frequently accompanied by other creatures as the *potnia theron*, is the Gorgon, from whose head serpents often emanate, and whose belt may be formed by a pair of them. Christou, relating this being to the snake, interprets her as a goddess of death and the underworld[39]; and this association seems to have been felt as early as Homer. When Odysseus, having visited the dead, was seized with fear, he pictured death in the Gorgon's shape, and trembled "lest august Persephone might send forth upon me from out the house of Hades, the head of the Gorgon"[40].

(vi) The snake and the Olympian goddesses

The unnamed *potnia theron*, and the Gorgon, may both be seen as descendants of the Bronze Age snake-goddess, although the precise significance of the snakes cannot be ascertained, and need not have

been identical in both periods. When the Olympian goddesses emerged as individuals with their own mythology and character, in the literature of the historic period, they remained heirs to the Bronze Age *potnia* and earth-goddess, and retained traits of their ancestry. One of these traits was the continuing association which most of them had with the snake. We have seen that Athena kept her creature on the Acropolis, as in a Mycenean palace; and that Demeter may have kept a serpent at Eleusis. Athena was the patron of snake-shaped Erichthonios; and it may be that the serpent Cychreides welcomed by Demeter was once a hero with this shape. Pausanias' description of Demeter's horse-headed cult-statue in the cave at Phigalia shows an even closer relationship between the serpent and this underworld goddess, since like the Gorgon, she had snakes sprouting from her head, the meaning of which Pausanias thought too obvious to explain[41]. As we have seen, the gold and ivory cult-statue of Athena on the Acropolis also had its snake, which Pausanias explained in terms of the Erichthonios myth[42]. Athena might use the snake as a means of destruction, as the story of Laocoon's sons, killed by the two monstrous serpents sent by her, indicates[43]; and Hera displayed a similar power, and a similar ill will, when she sent a snake to kill the child Herakles in his cradle[44]. Artemis, too, though not generally associated with this creature in mythology, used it as an instrument of her wrath, when she filled Admetus' bridal chamber with serpents, because he had forgotten to sacrifice to her on his marriage[45]. That the snake was sometimes regarded as her attribute is shown by Pausanias' description of her cult-statue by Damophon, at Despoina's sanctuary outside Akakesion; here, she holds two of them in one hand[46]. S. Reinach, discussing Damophon's statue, suggested that it derived from a pre-Greek tradition, of which the prototype was none other than

the serpent-goddess of Knossos; and he saw Arcadian Artemis (like her near associates Britomartis, Diktynna and Hekate) as a direct descendant of the Cretan deity[47]. But literary evidence and, as we shall see, the presence of snake-representations in sanctuaries, clearly show that Artemis is not the sole descendant of the Knossos goddess: she is one of several.

(vii) Apollo

Though the female Olympian deities, sharing the characteristics of older earth-goddesses, owned snakes as servants and protegés, and as symbolic attributes, associations with these creatures were not limited to female powers. Apollo, supplanting Gaia and Themis at Delphi, and destroying their servant, retained an interest in what he had conquered. And the snake, whether or not present in the sanctuary as a living creature, was represented in one of its most striking monuments, the golden tripod standing on a bronze snake which Pausanias saw[48]. Herodotus had described it in more detail, noting that the serpent had three heads, and stood very near the altar of Apollo[49]. According to one version of the Laocoon myth, it was not Athena but Apollo who sent the deadly serpents to kill the boys, because Laocoon his priest had broken his law by marrying[50]. Their work done, the serpents disappeared into the earth in Apollo's sanctuary[51]. Snakes are known to have been kept in some of his sanctuaries, as they were in those of his son Asklepios at Epidaurus and in Kos (both of which originally belonged to Apollo himself)[52]. In the cult of Asklepios, the snake is seen as a healing and life-giving being.

(viii) Zeus

In the new-born child Sosipolis, who was worshipped at Olympia with Eileithyia, the snake is seen as a saviour-god, a life-giver of another sort. He is to be identified with Zeus himself [53], whose cult in Crete as a child-god, born to the earth-goddess Rhea, and hidden in a cave on Mt. Dikte [54], may also have had its origins in the Minoan period. The story, at least, was known in early writings. The Cretan child Zeus is not known to have been snake-shaped, or otherwise associated with the snake; but the adult Zeus of historic times was worshipped as a snake with the title of Meilichios, a chthonian deity [55]. Clement of Alexandria, with customary disapproval, relates that serpents played a part in the Mysteries of Zeus Sabazios, because the god had taken that shape in order to seduce his own daughter Persephone [56].

B. Representations of snakes in sanctuaries

(i) General distribution

About 140 figurines and other representations of snakes (some of them decorating bronze or terracotta vessels) were discovered in the sanctuaries examined in this study; while nearly 200 recorded items of jewellery, mostly bracelets, took this shape. Over fifty of the snake-representations were dedicated to Artemis. (Most of them were terracotta figurines from Kombothreka; but her sanctuaries of Ephesos, Lousoi, Mt. Kotilon, Thasos and Artemis Orthia also yielded images of serpents; and at Artemis Orthia they were a recurring *motif* on the bases of early bronze figurines.) Thirty-six were dedicated to Athena (mostly as bronzes on the Acropolis of Athens); over thirty (generally in the form of cauldron-decorations found at Olympia) came

from sanctuaries of Zeus; while sanctuaries of Hera produced fifteen representations. Artemis, Zeus and Athena, who received most of the recorded serpent images, were also the recipients of nearly all
47 the snake-bracelets: above all, over 130 were found at Olympia, of which fifty or sixty, judging from their provenance in the south-east area of the excavations, beside or near the altar of Artemis, were probably dedicated to this goddess. (It is possible that the snake-shaped ring found near the south-east building had been offered at the same altar.) Artemis also received an unspecified number of snake-bracelets at Kombothreka, and probably on Mt. Kotilon; and at least one came to light at the Pherai sanctuary. Similarly, an unspecified number of snake-shaped earrings, discovered in the deposit at Kambouli may also have been dedicated to her[57]; and the seventh century lead "snake-ornament" from Artemis Orthia could have been the imitation of an ear-ring or pendant resembling Mycenean jewellery. Athena received fewer snake-bracelets than Artemis, but at least twelve (and one snake-shaped earring) were discovered in her sanctuary at Halai, and one at Lindos. Few examples of this type of dedication have been reported in the sanctuaries of other deities, although they are not entirely absent. The fashion of wearing metal snakes clasped about the arm is reminiscent of the Minoan snake-goddess, whose arms were entwined with the living creatures; and their dedication in some sanctuaries might even have stemmed from an unconsciously preserved tradition of this divine image.

(ii) Zeus

The dedication of snakes to Zeus, both as cauldron-decorations and as bracelets,is not inconsistent with the myths in which he assumed the form of this creature. The practice of decorating a vessel with

serpents was, as we have seen, a feature of the Minoan snake-cult; and it is quite possible that the snake-decorations on the vases of the historic period may have been felt to have some relevance to the deity to whom they were offered, whether or not they had a specific use in his cult. At Olympia, which produced a far greater number of snake-bracelets than any other sanctuary, Zeus was worshipped as the child Sosipolis, who was transformed into a snake; and it seems likely that the Olympian snakes were symbols of birth and fertility, expressing the same aspect of the god as the myth of Sosipolis, and the *aetion* for the Sabazian rites do.

(iii) *Artemis*

Unlike Zeus, Artemis is not personally identified with the serpent in mythology. Her power over it as a concomitant of death (a power shared by other female deities) is expressed by the story of Admetus and his snake-filled marriage-chamber. Admetus (whose personal confrontation with death is related in Euripides' *Alkestis*) was the king of Pherai; and at Pherai, in the sanctuary outside the walls, a goddess of death who was probably Artemis was worshipped on the site of a Geometric grave-yard[58]. Some of the snakes dedicated to Artemis (including a bracelet discovered at Pherai) may then express her power over death, as the snake-belted gorgon of the Corcyra pediment does. But the considerable number of snake-bracelets dedicated to Artemis at Olympia are more probably to be associated with a birth-cult, that of Sosipolis and Eileithyia[59], with which goddess she is often identified. Few goddesses accompanied by snakes were dedicated in the sanctuaries considered here; but two of those listed were Archaic *potniai theron* found in sanctuaries of Artemis: one at Ephesos (where she was associated

with Hekate, a goddess not only of death but of birth[60]); and the
48 other at Artemis Orthia, where Eileithyia was also worshipped[61]. The water-bird which the goddess also holds, both at Artemis Orthia and at Ephesos, demonstrates that she is a goddess of moisture and fertility; and both at Artemis Orthia and at Ephesos, too, *kourotrophos* figurines which appeal to her as a protectress of mothers and infants were dedicated[62]. But even the Gorgon on the pediment of Artemis' Corcyra temple is portrayed not only as a deadly *potnia theron*, but as a mother accompanied by her offspring Pegasos and Chrysaor, and thus as a birth-goddess.

Apart from the Olympian bracelets, large numbers of snake-shaped items of jewellery have not been reported from any of the sanctuaries examined here. But including Olympia, seven sites associated with Artemis (leaving aside the Acropolis of Athens) have produced examples of the type; and there are some additional indications that the bracelets, in particular, were felt to be suitable adornments for her, and therefore suitable dedications. The images of two live snakes which encircled the left arm of Damophon's cult-statue at Lykosoura embody a concept which may have been echoed in the wearing of metal bracelets. And among the fragmentary Hellenistic statues of priestesses from Artemis' temple in the Asklepieion of Messene, there are two left arms, each holding a small image of the goddess, and each adorned by two snake-
49 bracelets, on wrist and upper arm[63]. The Messene temple was a Hellenistic foundation, from which no small objects of dedication have been reported. But the priestesses evidently wore snake-bracelets when they performed certain rites; and there is at least a possibility that the nature of the goddess was not dissimilar from that of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. In the inscription on one statue-base, the name of

the deity is not actually Artemis, but Orthia[64]; while in another she is named as Artemis Oupisia[65], a title which recalls Oupis, the Hyperborean maiden associated on Delos with Eileithyia[66]. Callimachus refers to Oupis as a torch-bearer[67] - a guise in which she resembles Eileithyia, as Pausanias' description of Damophon's cult-statue of this childbirth goddess at Aigion shows[68]. And it seems that the cult-statue of the Messene temple itself (also perhaps a work of Damophon) represented Artemis as a torch-bearer; since Pausanias refers to a statue of Artemis Phosphora inside the sanctuary of Asklepios[69]. If the Messenian priestesses with the snake-bracelets served a goddess who was similar to Artemis Orthia, and concerned with childbirth, then it is quite possible that the bracelets of Olympia (the sanctuary of the snake-child Sosipolis and of Eileithyia) were also dedicated to an Artemis who fulfilled this role. Epigraphical evidence that representations of snakes were dedicated to Eileithyia herself is to be found in the Delian *stele* of 279 BC, on which it is recorded that snakes in relief were the property of the Eileithyion[70]. In the opinion of Ross, the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis situated on the Laconian/Messenian border was an offshoot of Artemis Orthia's Spartan shrine; and it is of some interest that the gold and silver rings,picked up by farmers on the slopes round the probable site of this sanctuary,were reported to be generally snake-shaped. Ross's account, not based on first-hand knowledge, is of necessity imprecise; but it is possible that some of the "rings" referred to were also bracelets[71].

At Kombothreka, where some snake-bracelets were found, the
46 more common form of representation was the clay figurine, a distinction which no doubt reflects the comparative poverty of Artemis Limnatis' sanctuary. But as a fertility-goddess, she had much the same function here as at Olympia; and if the terracotta horses, cattle and sheep

indicate that she was invoked for the increase of herds and flocks, the snake-figurines (which are more numerous) may well show her as a patron of human fertility.

(iv) *Athena*

Most of the representations of snakes dedicated to Athena were found on the Acropolis of Athens, where some decorate vessels; although Lindos, Halai, Gortyn, Delphi and Tegea also yielded a few examples of the serpent-*motif*, both as bracelets and as vase-ornaments. On the Acropolis, Athena is plainly associated with the snake in the myth of Erichthonios, who like Sosipolis appeared in this shape; and the bronze vessels decorated with serpents may be a reference to the container in which the child was kept, as it is represented in the Cretan statue of Athena[72]. Pausanias interpreted the chryselephantine Athena's snake as an embodiment of Erichthonios: and the live snake kept in the Erechtheum may also have been so regarded. The snake *motif* was also present in one of the pediments of Athena's Archaic temple where each corner was occupied by a large serpent. Thus on the Acropolis it not only took the form of bronze figurines and decorations (though one of the bronzes was of considerable size), but also figured in at least two of Athena's most important monuments. In fact, if Erichthonios, like Sosipolis, is an infant snake-god, Athena, as far as her part in this myth is concerned, may be regarded like Eileithyia, as a birth-goddess[73]. In a sense, Erichthonios is her son; for although he was the child of Earth and of Hephaistus[74], it was Athena whom Hephaistus was pursuing at the time of his conception; and it was Athena who took care of him as a child. In Philostratus' version of the story in fact, it is said that Athena herself gave birth to the serpent[75]. So the

snakes of the Acropolis, associated with Erichthonios, carry the same meaning as those of Olympia, which may be associated with Sosipolis; and Athena, as a mother-goddess, was fulfilling the same role as Eileithyia or Artemis[76]. Since a Mycenean cult (and a Mycenean palace) once occupied the Acropolis, such a goddess may have been present from very early times; and it is not inconceivable that the snake which was kept in the Erechtheum was a descendant of the snake which lived in the palace.

In conclusion, none of the seven representations of goddesses with a snake which I have listed were dedicated on the Acropolis of Athens[77]; but four were found in sanctuaries of Athena. The broken *pinax* which shows a skirted female, on either side of whom are rearing
50 serpents, comes from the Gortyn Acropolis. A booted male is also present, but the snakes, being on either side of the female figure seen to belong to her more than to the man[78]. The remains of a terracotta female figurine with a snake on its arm was found on the Acropolis of Halai[79], and from the Acropolis of Lindos came a marble statuette of Athena with a serpent coiled at her feet, which Poulsen suggests may be a reference to the gold and ivory statue at Athens[80]; and, on a much smaller scale (from the same sanctuary), a stone scaraboid depicting an Egyptian snake-goddess. Even this last small offering, like the rest, may have been chosen because Athena's links with the Bronze Age goddess of the palace, which found expression in the Athenian myth of Erichthonios, were also (though apparently more tacitly) acknowledged in her other sanctuaries; especially, perhaps, when these were situated on an Acropolis.

(v) Other deities

Hera and Demeter, who were also heirs of the Bronze Age mother-goddess, shared to some extent Athena's association with the serpent. Hera, who like Athena and Artemis could use snakes as an expression of ill-will towards humans, received about twenty representations in the sanctuaries examined here, including jewellery and vase-decorations. Demeter, from whose head serpents sprouted at Phigalia, and who welcomed Cychreides to Eleusis (where the snake may have had a part in her mysteries[81]) apparently received few animal-images as dedications; but the snake-shaped jewellery from her sanctuary at Knossos may have been regarded as suitable votives for a chthonian deity, who was perhaps a direct descendant of the Minoan snake-goddess worshipped at Knossos. The Roman mosaic in a cult-building of the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, which depicts two large wicker baskets with a blue and green speckled snake curled round each, is a further possible indication that serpents were involved in Demeter's rituals. In their Cnidus sanctuary, the fragment of a marble statue, possibly one of the goddesses, represented a female arm clasped by a snake-bracelet (reminiscent of the Messene priestesses)[82]; the female deity accompanied by a live snake, depicted in the marble from the Eleusinion of Athens, has been interpreted by Shear as Demeter herself[83]; and at her sanctuary in Cyrene the remains of a limestone seated goddess has a snake crawling up the side of her throne. At Eleusis, in the marble relief known as the Mission of Triptolemos, it is as the drawer of the hero's winged chariot that the serpent appears; but chariot and snakes were presented to Triptolemos by Demeter[84], who with her daughter is also represented in the scene. In the Eleusis reliefs, Triptolemos appears as a young boy[85]; so that in him we have yet

another youthful male divinity, the protegé of a goddess, considered by some to be a child of the earth[86]. This type of deity (though Triptolemos, being entrusted by Demeter with the introduction of corn-growing to men, is specificially agricultural in character) is not far removed from Erichthonios or Sosipolis, and it is tempting to see in his chariot-snakes a vestigial indication that the god himself may originally have had this shape.

In spite of Apollo's important role as Python-slayer, and the literary indications that serpents were kept in some of his sanctuaries, it appears that he received few snake-dedications in comparison with some other deities. Some (including bracelets) were found at the sanctuaries of Bassai, Amyclai, the Ptoion and Apollo Maleatas; and Delphi, the home of the Python, produced three bronze vase-handles decorated with snakes; while Perdrizet suggested that a fourth Delphian snake may have formed part of a gorgoneion. It must be said, however, that one of the most famous dedications of the sanctuary, the Plataia tripod described by Herodotus and Pausanias, was decorated with a serpent; and this did not require excavation, since it was removed in antiquity and even now partly survives in Constantinople. Possibly, snake-representations were not dedicated in greater number to Apollo because he was not (like the female deities) an heir to the Bronze Age Earth-goddess whom he displaced at Delphi, but felt rather to be her conqueror. On the other hand, live snakes were kept in the Asklepieion of Epidaurus - a sanctuary which once belonged to Apollo; and three images of snakes found in the nearby Maleatas sanctuary may (assuming that the bronze examples were not bracelets dedicated to Artemis) express the memory of a time when the Epidaurian snakes were sacred to Apollo himself, rather than his son. In general, however,

Apollo's association with the Python was expressed not in terms of snake-votives, but through the image of that alternative form of snake-goddess, the Gorgon, to which one of the Delphi serpents may have belonged.

C. The Gorgon and its representation in sanctuaries

(i) Gorgon-representations in sanctuaries

If the image of a goddess accompanied by a snake was but rarely dedicated in the sanctuaries examined in this study, the Gorgon, with her monstrous face and her serpent locks and belt is much more commonly to be found. But the Gorgon, too, is a snake-goddess, who may be considered as an heir to the Bronze Age deity portrayed in the Knossos statuettes[87]. As we have seen, her fearsome aspect was associated with death and the underworld, and because of this her presence in sanctuaries must have had an apotropaic function; but she was also represented as a *potnia theron* and a mother-goddess, a symbol, like the snake, of Earth in its fruitful as well as its death-embracing aspect. It is in this role that she appears in the pediment of Artemis' Corcyra temple. At least ninety representations of the Gorgon came to light in the sanctuaries considered here, though not all of them show her serpent-attributes. Some, like the Corcyra Gorgon, formed part of the decoration of temples, but most of them were votive offerings. More than thirty were found in sanctuaries of Artemis, above all as dedications made to Artemis Orthia (where the number of lead gorgons is not specified); twenty-one have been reported in sanctuaries of Athena, not counting the "numerous" terracotta *gorgoneia* found at Gortyn; at least fifteen representations came to light in sanctuaries of Zeus, mostly in the form of shield-decorations from Olympia; and

sanctuaries of Apollo yielded about the same number of representations. In the sanctuaries of the underworld goddess Demeter, the Gorgon's head, with whom she might be supposed to have a specially close association, is represented only by two small pendants.

(ii) The Gorgon and Artemis

The presence of the Gorgon at Artemis Orthia's sanctuary, where one ivory representation of a less grotesque snake-goddess was also found, is consistent with the deity's role as a goddess of fertility and the Earth. Fifteen of the Gorgon-images from this sanctuary take the form of terracotta masks (a type of dedication found also in the temple of Artemis and Apollo at Syracuse), and it has been suggested that these may be models of wooden originals which were actually worn by the participants in cult-rituals[88]. Although masks are more generally associated with Dionysiac rites, it is known that in Laconia worshippers wore them in the service of both Artemis and Apollo[89], and in Hesychius' gloss on "korythalistriai", he explains that these were dances performed during the festival of Artemis Korythalia (who had a sanctuary a mile or so from Sparta[90]) in which the dancers were either women, or men wearing female masks[91]. Such dances were probably orgiastic fertility rituals; and Guy Dickins quotes Pausanias' story about the sanctuary of Artemis Alpheia in Letrinoi, in which the goddess daubed her face, and those of her nymphs with mud, hoping by this disguise to escape the pursuit of Alpheios the river-god[92]. The story has been recognized as the *aetion* for a masking-ritual; and the amorousness of the god suggests that it had sexual overtones. The Gorgon is not the only type of mask to be found at Artemis Orthia, but if fertility-dances were performed at the sanctuary, then this, as a symbol of the Earth-

goddess, would have been an appropriate type for the participants to wear. The *motif* of the Gorgon recurs at Artemis Orthia in other forms than the mask, and as Dawkins points out, this suggests that it was closely connected with the goddess there[93]. Its appearance also as a decoration on her temples at Ephesos, Kalydon, the Knakeatis sanctuary, Corcyra and Syracuse, suggests that the association was not limited to Sparta; while the Hellenistic dedication of a helmet stamped with the more appealing Medusa's head, at Aulis, may imply that the traditional association was maintained in later times.

(iii) *The Gorgon and Athena*

Athena's association with the Gorgon was in iconographical terms even closer and more explicit than that of Artemis; since the head, stamped on her shield or *aegis*, became one of her essential attributes. It was carved in ivory on the breast of her chryselephantine cult-statue in the Parthenon[94], and survives on marble statues and on many of the more modest bronzes and terracottas representing the goddess, dedicated both on the Acropolis itself, and in other sanctuaries of Athena[95]. In fact, the Gorgoneion is perhaps Athena's most inalienable attribute, used to express the sometimes deadly nature of her power, and her invincibility as a goddess of war. Pausanias recounts the anecdote of a priestess of Itonian Athena in Boeotia who was turned to stone when she went into the sanctuary at night, and saw a vision of the goddess with the Gorgon's head hanging down over her tunic[96].

Unlike the owl of Athena, her Gorgoneion is fully expressed also in mythological terms. In early literature it seems to have been regarded as a property which she inherited from her father Zeus; since Homer describes how she put on his *aegis* to go to war, and how in the

centre was the head of that terrifying monster, the Gorgon, "a portent of Zeus that beareth the *aegis*"[97]. Hesiod relates that it was Perseus who killed the Gorgon, yet makes no mention either of Zeus or Athena in connection with this exploit[98]; but by the time of Apollodorus, Athena has been closely drawn into the story, actually guiding Perseus' hand to make the fatal stroke, and finally, after Polydectes had been turned to stone, receiving the head as a gift. At this point she placed it in the centre of her shield. Apollodorus adds that Athena reputedly had the Gorgon killed, because she had been willing to be compared with the goddess in beauty[99]. Before Apollodorus' time, in the *Ion* of Euripides, there is an interesting conversation about Athena and the Gorgon,which I believe confirms the supposition that it was in origin a goddess not only of death but of life. In this version of the story, Athena herself killed the monster, and wore its skin, the *aegis* (which was wreathed in snakes) on her breast. But when Erichthonios (himself a snake-god) was born, she gave him two drops of the Gorgon's blood; one drop gave death - but the other was to heal and prosper life[100]. This story, even if it were in itself a literary conceit composed for the occasion, may well embody a current attitude towards the symbolism of the Gorgon - an attitude which derived from a much older belief in the snake-goddess who was mistress of life and death. Moreover, the story associates not only Athena with the Gorgon, but also Erichthonios, thus drawing round the goddess the different facets of the snake-*motif*.

Representations of the Gorgon independent of Athena, were also dedicated to her in some numbers. For it was not only an apotropaic blazon for her shield or *aegis*, but could decorate a vase, ring or separate votive shield; or it might simply have been offered as an image for its own sake. Evidently it served also on occasion to guard a sacred

building or enclosure, like the gilded Gorgeoneion, fringed with snakes, which Pausanias describes as fixed to the outside of the south wall of the Acropolis[101]. Fourteen gorgon-representations have apparently been discovered on the Acropolis; and three of them were prominent temple-decorations. The early sixth-century marble head, hands and snake-belt once formed a temple *akroterion*[102]; while additional fragments show that at least one more gorgon-*akroterion* existed[103]. Hans Schrader believed that these *akroteria* were the central figures in two *potnia theron* groups, on the first Parthenon, and on the old temple of Athena, and that each was flanked by a pair of lions or panthers[104]. If he was right, the similarity of these two groups to the Corcyra pediment would be marked; but the grouping cannot be proved conclusively[105]. There is little doubt, however, that one of the pediments on the sixth-century temple of Athena, in whose corners snakes were represented, did have as its central group a kneeling Gorgon flanked by lions, since parts of the lions, and the Gorgon's wings from this survive[106]. If all these reconstructions are correct, the theme of Artemis' Corcyra pediment (though without the Gorgon's children) appeared no less than three times in Athena's sanctuary. The Gorgon was no doubt (like the snake) a guardian of the Acropolis, an apotropaic *motif*, as on the goddess' shield[107]; but I have suggested that in this sanctuary Athena, who nurtured Erichthonios, was not only a war-goddess of the state, but also a mother and a descendant of the Mycenean palace-goddess. The Acropolis Gorgons, like the one in Corcyra and the smaller examples at Artemis Orthia's sanctuary, were versions of the old snake-goddess, and expressed this maternal aspect of Athena's character.

(iv) The Gorgon and Apollo

Representations of the Gorgon came to light at seven of the sanctuaries of Apollo considered in this study; at none of them in any number (as at Artemis Orthia, the Acropolis or Gortyn), but as a recurring, and sometimes prominent *motif*, since at Thermon, Dreros and Cyrene, at least, they decorated his temples; and at Delphi itself, where an Archaic relief with a building decorated by a Gorgon on its pediment was found, there is a possibility that one of the early temples may have been decorated in this way[108]. The Gorgon has been interpreted as a symbol of the sun, perhaps because looking into the face of either is dangerous. Even in the *Iliad*, Apollo had the charge of shaking the *aegis* fiercely over the Achaean warriors at Troy, to frighten them[109]. But a passage in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius identifies the Gorgon's head still more explicitly as an attribute of the sun-god. The writer describes a statue of Apollo in Hieropolis, in which all the attributes of the sun were brought together. Thus it was surrounded by eagles (who by the rapidity and altitude of their flight, symbolized the height of the sun), but from its shoulders hung a *gorgoneion* edged with serpents[110]. Thus the presence of the Gorgon in Apollo's sanctuaries could be explicable in terms of this symbolism. But as a snake-goddess, it is also a version of Gaia, the deity of earth whose serpent Apollo destroyed, and whose ancient sanctuary he usurped. Comparatively few snake-representations were discovered in his sanctuaries, in spite of the importance in Delphic mythology of this exploit. But in terms of his cult, the triumph was the defeat of the goddess rather than her creature; and I suggest that for this reason the Gorgon, rather than the snake, was dedicated in, and adorned his sanctuaries.

D. Conclusion: the snake, the snake-goddess and the Gorgon

It was no doubt the awe which the snake has generally aroused in human-beings that made it a protector of dwellings in pre-historic times, a being capable of warding off harm. This apotropaic quality probably lay behind many representations of the snake which were discovered in sanctuaries, whether it guarded a vessel, or a temple, or the wearer of a bracelet made in its image. The snake-goddess of the Bronze Age must have shared and controlled the power of her creature and attribute; the Archaic *potnia theron* was also depicted with it; and a number of the Olympian goddesses, as their heirs, also took possession of their companion-serpent. Athena's serpent guarded her sanctuary on the Acropolis of Athens, and several deities made use of snakes to chastise human-beings. The Gorgon, a fearsome and distorted version of the snake-goddess, embodied the qualities of the snake in a form at once more human, and more supernatural; and the Gorgon's image, too, is found as a guardian in sanctuaries.

Nevertheless, mythology suggests that the snake's symbolic value was more than apotropaic. The exact function of the Bronze Age snake-goddess can only be guessed at, but it is possible that she not only guarded the dwelling and its inhabitants, but also took care of the increase of their race. At any rate, in the historic period the legends of Erichthonios and Sosipolis link the snake with the mysteries of birth, and with child-gods who far from being destroyers, were saviours of their people. For this reason, I believe, representations of snakes were most frequently dedicated in those sanctuaries whose deities were also concerned with human fertility: in particular at Olympia where Eileithyia brought Sosipolis into the world; and on the Acropolis of Athens where Athena was *kourotrophos* to the snake-child Erichthonios.

The snake-bracelets dedicated to Artemis at Olympia, like those which clasped the arms of her priestesses at Messene, may well have been seen as the appropriate ornaments for a goddess of child-birth.

The Gorgon, who shared the apotropaic quality of her snake-attributes, was also in part a goddess of the earth and of fertility. On the Corcyra pediment she appears as a mother; and the story of the two drops of her blood given to Erichthonios by Athena, associates her with life as well as with death. In general, the deities to whom the greatest number of snake-dedications were offered, also received the most Gorgons: that is to say, Artemis, Athena, and to a lesser degree Zeus, or his fellow-deities at Olympia. Hera, who received snake-representations at several of her sanctuaries, though not in any great quantity, received a similarly moderate amount of Gorgons. Apart from the Hellenistic statue at Demeter's Cyrene sanctuary, the rather uncommon representations of a goddess (not a Gorgon) with a snake were found only in certain sanctuaries of Athena and of Artemis[111], and at all of those sanctuaries Gorgons or *gorgoneìa* also came to light. At all of them, too, representations of snakes alone had been dedicated. There is generally, in fact, a correspondance between the snake-goddess, the Gorgon and the snake, in that they were dedicated (or used to adorn a temple) in similar contexts. In part, this concurrence may result from the fact that some sanctuaries, such as Artemis Orthia, are richer than others in all kinds of dedicated representations. But I believe it must also be seen in terms of the religious associations which these images had. Like the Gorgons, the snakes of the Acropolis and of Olympia may be seen as symbols of the fertility which is also expressed in associated myths; and at sanctuaries like Artemis Orthia (of which no birth-myth is known, but where Eileithyia goddess of childbirth was worshipped) they may have held the same meaning.

In spite of his association with the Python of Delphi, however, there is some evidence that in sanctuaries of Apollo, representations of Gorgons were dedicated (or used to decorate temples) in preference to those of snakes; even though snakes may have been kept in some of them. In fact, Apollo's relationship to this animal is rather different from that of a goddess like Athena or Artemis. He did not inherit the qualities of the earth-goddess of Delphi; but triumphed, rather, in her defeat. The image of the Gorgon in his sanctuaries may have the same apotropaic function as in other places; or it may possibly be regarded as a symbol of the sun. But I believe that it may, alternatively, be seen as a representation of the old earth-goddess whom he displaced, and thus as a trophy of his victory over her.

Footnotes

1. *BSA* 9 (1902-3) pp. 74-87, Figs. 54-7.
2. M.P. Nilsson. *The Minoan-Mycenean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*. Lund 1950 p. 81, Fig. 14.3.A.1.
3. *AM* 26 (1901) p. 247, Figs. 2 and 3.
4. Nilsson. *Loc. cit.* Fig. 14.3.B.
5. *AM* 26 (1901) p. 248, Figs. 4 and 5.
6. Taylour. *The Myceneans*. Figs. 28 and 150.
7. Nilsson. *Op. cit.* pp. 321-324.
8. *Ibid.* pp. 325-329.
9. Artemidorus. *Oneirocriticon*. II.13.
10. Plutarch. *Moralia*. 379D. *cf* Eustathius. *Iliad*. II.308.
11. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. 300-304, 356-374; Euripides. *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. 1245-57; Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. I.4.1; Pausanias. X.6.3.
12. Clement of Alexandria. *Protrepticus*. I.2P.

13. Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*. XI.2.

14. Pausanias. II.27.2; II.28.1; Herondas. *Mimes*. IV.91. It is likely that an altar to Apollo predated Asklepios' temple at Epidaurus (R.A. Tomlinson. *Epidaurus*. Granada Publishing 1983, p. 55). The Asklepieion of Kos, at which Herondas describes two worshippers feeding the snake reverently, occupied the site of a grove sacred to Apollo Kyparessios (*Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical sites*. p. 466).

15. Strabo 393-4. The concept of Demeter's serpent-attendant found some expression in the visual arts. For example, a Roman cinerary urn depicts Demeter with a snake curled round her body, a guise not unlike that of the Minoan figurines (J.E. Harrison. *Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion*. Cambridge 1922, p. 546, Fig.154).

16. Herodotus. VIII.41; Aristophanes. *Lysistrata*. 759. *cf* Hesychius' gloss on ῾οἰκουρον ὄφιν

17. O. Walter. *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Acropolismuseum in Athen*. Vienna 1923, p. 107, no. 231.

18. *BSA* 9 (1902-3) p. 60.

19. For example, Herodotus. I.78 ("Snakes are children of Earth") *cf* Artemidorus. *Oneirocriticon*. II.13.

20. Aeschylus gives the traditional succession of deities at Delphi in *Eumenides*. 1-11. See also *FdD* II (1927) p. 183; and F. Poulsen. *Delphi*. London 1920, pp. 4-5.

21. *Iliad*. II.547-8; Pausanias. I.18.2; I.24.7. See Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. II, p. 168.

22. Pausanias. VI.20.2-5 (Penguin edition, Vol. II, p. 344).

23. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. II, p. 169.

24. *Etymologicum Magnum*. 371 (gloss on "Erechtheus").

25. Philostratus. *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. VII.24.

26. Euripides. *Ion*. 21-23; Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. III.14.6.

27. Cook. *Zeus*. Vol. III, Fig. 139. Cook believed that the statue may have reflected a cult-practice.

28. Pausanias. I.24.7.

29. Clement of Alexandria. *Protrepticus*. III.39P.

30. Male children, serpents, and death are also brought together in the story of the infant Herakles (who in strangling the serpents overcame death and anticipated other exploits of this nature) [Pindar. *Nemean Odes*. I.39; Hyginus. *Fabulae*. 30]; and in the

killing of the child Opheltes, whose nurse placed him on the ground before he could walk [Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. III.6.4; Pausanias. II.15.2-3; Hyginus. *Fabulae*. 74]; and (though they were older) in the death of Laocoon's sons [Vergil. *Aeneid*. II.40-56; 199-231; Apollodorus. *Epitome*. V.18].

31. See J.E. Harrison. "Delphica". *JHS* 19 (1899) p. 219. Figs. 4 and 9 are Archaic funerary vases which depict a grave-tumulus containing a large coiled snake.

32. A late example of this idea is seen in Pliny's reference to the tomb of Scipio Africanus [*Nat. Hist.* XVI.234].

33. Roscher. II.1121-1122. For example, an Archaic *skyphos* from Aegina shows Cerberus with six snake heads attached to various parts of his body (Fig. 1).

34. *RE* 2.A.1 (1921) 512.

35. Olympia: *OlForsch* VII, p. 96, nos. 1 and 2.
Acropolis: *Catalogue*. II. p. 345; *AA* 1893, p. 140, Figs. 1 and 2.
Delphi: *FdD* V (1908), pp. 3, 5, 13-21; *FdD* II.5 (1926) pp. 8-12; p. 28; pp. 34-36. Mycenean terracottas were found beside the sanctuary of Earth [Poulsen. *Delphi*. pp. 4-5].

36. *Hesperia* 2 (1933) pp. 604-5. *Pinakes* depicting similar snake-goddesses were found in the sanctuary at Hagia Paraskevi near the Amyklaion of Sparta. These are unpublished [v. Christou. *Potnia Theron*. p. 142, nos. 9 and 10].

37. Hoenn. *Artemis*. Plate 1. The two snakes painted on the lid of the seventh century coffer from Thebes are no doubt associated with the winged goddess who on one of its long sides holds two water-birds; but they are not shown as her immediate companions [*JdI* 3 (1888) p. 357].

38. *Potnia theron*. pp. 52, 141-147.

39. *Ibid*. pp. 136-142.

40. *Odyssey*. XI. 633-5 (Loeb translation, Vol. I, p. 431).

41. Pausanias. VIII.42.4.

42. The Athena on the sixth-century Gigantomachy pediment of the old temple actually wears a headdress which is encircled by a row of small curled snakes [Boardman. p. 155, Fig. 199.1]; and a R-F *pyxis* shows Athena's chariot being drawn by two snakes [A.B. Cook. *Zeus*. Vol. III, p. 769, Fig. 556].

43. Vergil. *Aeneid*. II.40-56; 199-231; Quintus Smyrnaeus. *Post-homerica*. XII.447-482. These are late works, but the story is known to have been told by Bacchylides, and by the eighth century Arctinus of Miletus in the *Iliu Persis*.

44. Pindar. *Nemean Odes*. I.39-40; Hyginus. *Fabulae*. 30.

45. Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*. I.9.15 (Loeb, Vol. I, p. 93).

46. Pausanias. VIII.37.4. For the archaeological remains of this statue, see *BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 377; and Dickins' reconstruction of the group in Plate 12. The left arm from shoulder to wrist, with dowel-holes to show where the coiled serpents were attached, and part of the left hand, survives. That snakes were associated with the chthonian goddess of this sanctuary is clear from the discovery of a number of small terracotta snakes there [see Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. IV, p. 370].

47. S. Reinach. "L' Artémis Arcadienne et la Déesse avec serpents de Cnossos". *BCH* 30 (1906) pp. 150-160.

48. Pausanias. X.13.4.

49. Herodotus. IX.81.

50. Apollodorus. *Epitome*. V.18; Hyginus. *Fabulae*. 135.

51. Quintus Smyrnaeus. *Posthomerica*. XII.480-482.

52. Asklepios may once have had the form of a snake [*RE* 2.A.1 (1921) 512]. According to Pausanias, he travelled from Epidaurus to Sikyon in this shape [II.10.3. *cf* III.23.7]. See also, Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. III, p. 65; J.E. Harrison. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. p. 19; and *JHS* 19 (1899) p. 216. For the sacred snake in the Asklepieion of Kos, see note 14.

53. Zeus Sosipolis had a temple in Magnesia, where he was worshipped as an agrarian fertility-god [Nilsson. *Griechische Feste*. pp. 23-27; Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. IV. pp. 75-6]. His temple, which has been identified, stood beside that of Artemis, whose priestess (as an inscription shows) took part in his Feast. Strabo [648] mentions a statue which was consecrated to Zeus Sosipolis in the market-place of Magnesia.

54. Hesiod. *Theogony*. 477-484; Diodorus Siculus. *Bibliotheca Historica*. V.70.

55. *Der Kleine Pauly*. Vol. III, 1158; *PAE* 1897, p. 84. Reliefs depicting snakes were discovered at Piraeus, probably in a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios. One of them was actually inscribed to this deity; and the large size of the creatures makes it probable that they were intended to be divine [J.E. Harrison. *Op. cit.* pp. 18-20, Figs. 1,2 and 4].

56. *Protrepticus*. II.14.P.

57. Themelis believed that the deposit could belong to Xenophon's sanctuary of Artemis at Skillous. Its situation 3½ km south-west of Olympia, beside the river Selinous,is consistent with Xenophon's account in *Anabasis*. V.3 [*ADelt* 23A (1968) pp. 290-291].

58. *RE* Suppl. VII (1950) 997. See *Introduction*, note 8.

59. *OlForsch* XII, pp. 22-24.

60. See Dogs, pp. 116-117.

61. See Frogs, p. 153.

62. Hogarth. p. 315, Figs. 91-2; *AO* p. 51, Fig. 59; pp. 402-3.

63. *PAE* 1962, Plates 117 a and b.

64. *Ibid.* p. 110, Pl. 112b.

65 *Ibid.* p. 112a, Pl. 120b.

66. Herodotus. IV.35. R. Vallois interprets Herodotus' information that Arge and Oupis came to Delos at the same time as the gods, as meaning that they assisted Leto with the birth of her children [*BCH* 48 (1924) p. 442, note 6].

67. *Hymn to Artemis*. 204.

68. Pausanias. VII.23.5.

69. *Ibid*. IV.31.10.

70. *BCH* 15 (1891) p. 156.

71. Pausanias. IV.4.2; IV.31.3. L. Ross. *Reisen im Peloponnes*. Berlin 1841, pp. 6-20; Papahadzis. III. p. 108, note 1.

72. See above, note 27.

73. K. Lehmann-Hartleben found evidence for Athena's character as birth-goddess on the Acropolis of Athens, in a different kind of dedication. He saw the Archaic marble relief of a family of parents and three young children bringing a pig and a small votive shield to Athena, as the offering for a goddess of birth. The pig was sacrificed more often to chthonian deities than to Athena; but then the attribute of a snake shows that Athena was in part a chthonian deity of life and death. Lehmann-Hartleben related the votive shield carried by one of the boys to the beating of shields by the Kouretes at Zeus' birth, and sees its presentation as part of an apotropaic birth-ceremony. [K. Lehmann-Hartleben. "Athena als Geburtsgöttin". *Archiv für Religiouswissenschaft* 24 (1926) pp. 19-28; *Catalogue*. I. no. 581; Payne, Pl. 126.1]. Incidentally the association of the Kouretes with one of the *aetia* for the Olympic Games, could be seen as an additional indication of the presence of a divine birth-cult at Olympia [Pausanias. V.7.6].

74. Pausanias. I.2.6.

75. *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. VII. 24.

76. *Kourotrophos* figurines were dedicated on the Acropolis as at Artemis Orthia and Ephesos [*Catalogue*. II. p. 394].

77. The central figure on the limestone pediment, flanked by snakes in the corners, is a Gorgon [Boardman. Fig. 192].

78. Doro Levi suggests that the plaque may either represent Athena, with Herakles and the hydra; or be a throw-back to the Minoan snake-goddess, whose attribute is associated not merely with chthonian cults and with germinative force, but also with the protection of the hearth [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) pp. 271-2].

79. Hetty Goldman suggested that it might represent Hygeia rather than Athena; but there is surely no need for this interpretation [*Hesperia*.9 (1940) p. 474, no. 65].

80. *Lindos*. III. p. 559.

81. See above, p. 268 (the story of Zeus Sabazios and Persephone).

82. Newton. *History*. II. p. 393.

83. *Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 210.

84. Apollodorus. I.5.2.

85. See also the fifth-century "Grand Relief", in which Demeter gives cornseeds to Triptolemos (Mylonas. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Fig. 68).

86. Pausanias. I.14.2.

87. See *AJA* 15 (1911) pp. 349 and 358-362.

88. Guy Dickins in *AO* pp. 172-4.

89. Pollux. IV.104.

90. Athenaeus. 139.a-b.

91. See R.C. Bosanquet. "Excavations at Sparta, 1906", *BSA* 12 (1905-6) p. 338.

92. Pausanias. VI.22.9.

93. *BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 105.

94. Pausanias. I.24.7.

95. Acropolis:

(*Bronze:* Archaic. 1 goddess with snake-fringed *aegis* [De Ridder, no. 794])
5th c BC. Colossal standing goddess, gorgoneion on *aegis* (missing head, arms, feet) [*Catalogue* II. p. 260, no. 1362].

Marble: 6th c BC. Seated goddess, gorgoneion on breast (Endoios?) [Payne, Pl. 116].
Archaic. Trunk of goddess, gorgoneion on breast [Payne, Pl. 121.4].
c. 480 BC. Headless goddess, gorgoneion on *aegis* [*Catalogue* II, p. 200; Boardman, Fig. 173].

4th c BC. 2 headless goddesses, gorgoneion on *aegis* [*Catalogue* II, p, 238-9].

Marble reliefs: 5th-4th c BC. 2 show Athena, gorgoneion on *aegis* [p. 262, no. 3001; p. 265, no. 3003].

Terracotta: 4 fragments female figurines with gorgoneion on breast [*Catalogue* II, p. 375, no. 1522].

Terracotta reliefs: 1 goddess with gorgoneion on *aegis* [*JHS* 17 (1897) p. 311, Fig. 3].
Fragments of 2 reliefs of goddess in chariot, with gorgoneion on shield [*Ibid.* p. 309].

Lindos

Marble: 2nd c BC. Trunk of colossal Athena, gorgoneion on *aegis* [*Lindos*. III.2. pp. 548-551, Fig. 18].

Terracotta figurines: 525-400 BC. 1 seated Athena; *aegis* with snake-fringe and gorgoneion [*Lindos*. I, no. 2232].
1 shield with gorgoneion, from figurine [2335].

Sparta

Marble: Archaic. Fragments of statue including a snake's head from the *aegis* [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 45].

Bronze: Early 5th c BC. 1 goddess with gorgoneion on *aegis* [*Ibid.* p. 86, Pl. 8.7].

Tegea

Bronze: c. 500 BC. 1 goddess, gorgoneion on shield [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 362, no. 58, Fig. 18, Pl. 13].

Halai

Terracotta: 5th c BC. 1 fragmentary gorgoneion, probably from figurine of goddess [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 476, no. 73, Fig. 187].

96. Pausanias. IX.34.1.

97. *Iliad*. V.738-742.

98. *Theogony*. 280-281.

99. *Bibliotheca*. II.4.3-8.

100. Euripides. *Ion*. 1012-1014.

101. Pausanias. I.21.3.

102. H. Payne and G.M. Young. *Archaic marble sculpture from the Acropolis*. London. 1936, Pl. 1; Boardman, Fig. 188.

103. Payne. *Op. cit.* Pl. 13.4, 5 and 6.

104. *Jdl* 43 (1928) pp. 54-89, Figs. 34 and 35.

105. Payne believed that the remains of marble lions or leopards, interpreted by Schrader as *akroteria*, formed part of a frieze belonging to the building with the smaller of the two gorgon-*akroteria* [Payne, Pl. 13.1; Pl. 15.1-4; *cf* Boardman, Fig. 189].

106. Boardman, Fig. 192.2.

107. The function of the Gorgon was protective at Tegea, where the story was told that Athena cut off some of the hairs of the Medusa, in token of her promise that the city should never fall [Pausanias. VIII.47.5] *cf* Apollodorus. II.7.3. The hair was kept in a bronze urn, and would turn back an enemy from the city walls.

108. A.L. Frothingham. "Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother". *AJA* 15 (1911). See pp. 352-3.

109. *Iliad*. XV. 229.

110. *Saturnalia*. I.17.66-70.

111. At Artemis Orthia, Ephesos, Lindos, Gortyn and Halai.

FABULOUS ANIMALS *(See Appendix 8.17)*

Sphinxes, griffins and sirens, unlike most of the creatures which have been discussed so far, are not to be found in the natural world; although in their fantastic composition they embody certain natural forms - elements of human beings, lions and birds. It was in the various combinations of these natural elements - human intelligence, lion-like physical strength, and the power of flight - that the ancients envisaged a force which was supernatural without being in itself divine. But there is no question of such creatures being used as sacrificial victims, or being worshipped as the embodiment of a god on earth, or living as protected inhabitants in sanctuaries, as a deer or a bull might. Fabulous beasts were depicted (as the lion was) in the art of prehistoric Crete and Greece; and in historic times they reappeared as exotic *motifs* from the East. Their role seems often to have been largely decorative; but they were to some extent absorbed into Greek mythology, as well as art; and their images were frequently to be seen in sanctuaries - not merely as ornaments of the general scene, but sometimes in such proximity to the statues of the gods, that they must have been regarded as their attributes. They cannot therefore have been entirely devoid of religious significance, and must be included in an account of animal-representations in sanctuaries.

A. Literary and iconographical evidence

(i) Sphinxes

The sphinx is a creature with the body of a lion (sometimes winged) and the face of a human-being (in Greece, a woman). In mythology, it appears as a predatory and ravenous creature, who devoured the

people of Thebes until Oedipus succeeded in answering its riddle. Once this was solved, the sphinx brought about her own destruction by flinging herself from the Acropolis of Thebes[1]. The destructiveness of the beast was thus associated not only with violence, but also with a cunning which almost no human mind could overcome. Literary accounts of its representation in mythological scenes, not surprisingly, show it in a context of fear and death. On the two forward feet of Zeus' throne in his temple at Olympia, the Theban children are being carried off by sphinxes; while underneath the sphinxes the equally violent slaughter of Niobe's children by Artemis and Apollo is depicted[2]. On Achilles' helmet, which is described in Euripides' *Electra*, the sphinx is also seen carrying off its victim[3]; although on the helmet of Athena's gold and ivory statue, it is shown in repose, as the central figure between two griffins[4]. In these accounts, the sphinx is represented in a context of terror; Euripides regards it as having been sent against Thebes from Hades, the dwelling of the dead[5]; it does not spare children, any more than Apollo and Artemis spare the Niobids; and it decorates helmets as an embodiment of the destructiveness of war, which the gods may use against human-beings.

In his description of Boeotia, Pausanias offers two rational explanations for the legend of the sphinx[6]. It is suggested that she was really a pirate who used to land and ravage the countryside till Oedipus defeated her in war. Alternatively, she was a bastard daughter of King Laios, who found out the secret given to Kadmos by the Delphic oracle, and used it to keep the throne in her own possession, and condemn to death any of her brothers who laid claim to it. In these two explanations, the sphinx, even in human form, retains its essential characteristics of rapacious violence and guile. This, then, is the aspect of the gods

which it must express: a fighting power which only in exceptional circumstances may be withstood by mortals.

The part played by the Delphic oracle in one of the Theban sphinx-legends hints at a possible link between the sphinx and Apollo: she shares a secret of his oracle not generally known to men. This might help explain the dedication of the sixth century sphinx of the Naxians in Delphi, which was placed near the Sybil's rock, and on whose base an inscription (added in the fourth century) gave "promanteia" (priority with the oracle) to the people of Naxos[7]. According to Pausanias' account, the sphinx was one of the *motifs* decorating Apollo's throne at Amyclai[8]; and, more significantly (although this detail is not included in literary descriptions) his Delian cult-statue by Tektaios and Angelion may also have been flanked by a pair of sphinxes[9].

Another god who according to literary evidence may have been associated with the sphinx is Dionysos. One of the scholiasts commenting on Euripides' *Phoenician Maidens* notes that it was Dionysos who first sent the sphinx against Thebes[10]. Herodotus relates that Scyles King of Scythia was an initiate of the rites of Dionysos; and that his palace was surrounded by sphinxes (and griffins) of white stone[11]. If there was indeed a link between this creature and Dionysos, then it is likely to be because of the wildness and violence which his rites could sometimes assume.

The information offered by literature on the mythological association of the sphinx with Dionysos and Apollo is slight enough. On its associations with female deities, written evidence is equally sparse; although in Apollodorus' account of the Theban myth, he informs us that the sphinx was sent against the people by Hera, and not by Dionysos. At the same time the sphinx was apparently felt to be an appropriate

decoration for Athena's helmet, and probably expressed part of the nature of this warlike goddess. In general, however, evidence of a link between the sphinx and female deities seems to be iconographical rather than literary. Hans Walter, discussing the importance of the landscape and its wildness in Greek religion, suggests that it was viewed as the haunt of elemental and even demonic powers which found visual expression in fantastic creatures such as sphinxes and sirens, whose images were dedicated in sanctuaries[12]. The nature-goddess of Bronze Age Crete and Greece, as of the East, must have been acknowledged as the divinity who held sway in such a wilderness; and the sphinx may have been regarded even then as one of her creatures, and an expression of her power; although there are apparently no Bronze Age representations of a goddess accompanied by sphinxes[13]. It probably served as an imaginary guardian of the deity's shrine, a role which is suggested by the ivory plaque found at Mycene, on which two winged sphinxes face each other over the capital of a column[14]; since it is believed that the pillar in Bronze Age art represents a deity or shrine[15]. Demargne, discussing the small votive plaques depicting sphinxes (and griffins) which were dedicated in some Cretan sanctuaries during the Archaic period, notes that they were associated with female deities, and suggests that the link stemmed from a Minoan tradition of worship, as well as from the influence of the East[16]. When the Archaic *potnia theron* is depicted with a heraldic sphinx on either side of her, the relationship between goddess and fabulous animal is affirmed in more direct iconographical terms. One of the earliest examples of the *potnia theron* with spinxes in a Greek context is the engraving on a seventh century bronze votive shield, also from Crete[17]; and fragments of similar Cretan bronze reliefs are decorated with the same *motif*[18]. From

Corcyra, early in the sixth century, come fragments of at least two terracotta antefixes, each representing a female head flanked by a pair of heraldic winged sphinxes[19]. The seated goddess above the temple door at Prinias is to be seen more indirectly as mistress not only of lions and horses, but also of sphinxes, through the decorative *motifs* on her robe, and on the temple itself[20].

According to Christou, the sphinx, like other fabulous beasts, shows the power of the *potnia theron* over wild nature - but also over death[21]; and its use in the decoration of grave-markers certainly invests it with connotations of mortality, like the lion[22]. This association is given mythological expression in the story of the Theban sphinx who mercilessly devoured the children of the city; and it is also implicit in the custom of decorating helmets with the image of a sphinx, so that it might be seen to bring death to the enemy on the field of war.

(ii) Griffins

The griffin resembles the sphinx in that it has a lion's body, and is generally winged; but it has the face or beak of an eagle, not a woman[23]. The symbolic meaning attached to griffins by scholars like Christou and Demargne differs little from their interpretation of the sphinx; and H. Frankfort classifies the griffin "with the Soul-birds and Sirens in which dwellers of the Aegean area objectified certain aspects of the terror inspired by death"[24]. Thus the helmet of Athena's gold and ivory statue was adorned by two griffins as well as a sphinx, to reinforce its fearful aspect; and the palace of the Scythian king was also guarded by both types of beast[25].

In mythology, however, the griffin is given an identity of its own. A lost epic by a sixth century poet called Aristeas of Proconnesos,

which was referred to by ancient writers including Herodotus and Pausanias, is the first known work to describe them[26]. From the beginning, they were regarded as exotic beings, whose home was far to the North. Aristeas first saw them when, possessed by the god Apollo, he visited these northern regions, including the Hyperborean country near which the griffins lived. There they acted as guardians of the gold eventually wrested from them by the one-eyed Arimaspians. The guardian character of the griffins, as well as their terror, is expressed in Aeschylus' tragedy by Prometheus, who describes them as "the sharp-beaked hounds of Zeus that bark not", and warns Io to beware of them[27]. This brief description shows that they could be regarded as servants of at least one deity; but I have been unable to find further literary evidence of their special relationship with Zeus, or of its exact nature. That they could be associated, at least iconographically, also with Artemis, is made evident by Strabo's description of a painting in her sanctuary at the mouth of the river Alpheios; here Aregon, the painter, has portrayed her riding on a flying griffin[28]; but no story is apparently known of Artemis' undertaking such a flight, and possibly none ever existed. Yet the association also finds some expression in a representation of Artemis which actually survives: the Vatican statuette of Artemis Ephesia, on whose robe not only deer, lions, bulls and bees are embroidered, but also three griffins[29]. Evidently, they were also considered suitable images for the adornment of a votive presented to Hera by Samians who had profited from a merchant venture on the sea. Herodotus relates that they made a large cauldron with griffins' heads projecting from its rim; and set this up not merely in the Heraion of Samos, but in the temple of Hera itself. Its size must have been impressive, since it was supported by three colossal kneeling figures[30].

Like the sphinx, the griffin appeared in Bronze Age art, and in contexts which are apparently religious[31]. The *potnia theron*, more frequently grouped with heraldic lions and birds, could also have griffins as her attendants, as a gem from the Psychro cave in Crete indicates[32]; and a jasper from Vapheio on the mainland of Greece shows the equally fanciful *motif* of what appears to be a priest leading a tame griffin[33].

When the *potnia theron* reappeared in the Archaic period, she was also on occasion flanked by griffins[34]. In the sixth century bronze relief from Olympia (where the goddess is shown grasping two lions), two griffins (as well as three eagles) are portrayed in the zones above that containing the goddess[35]. Thus while they are not here, her immediate attributes, as the lions are, they appear in fairly close proximity to the deity. In Hellenistic times, the *motif* of the *potnia* with griffins continued to be used decoratively, as a gold diadem of the fourth or third century BC shows. This is a band stamped with alternate zones of a winged goddess, and a griffin; arranged so that the griffins on either side of each female figure are either both facing, or both turned away from her[36].

Christou believed that the griffins of the Archaic *potnia theron* expressed the dark and life-destroying powers of which she was mistress[37]. He also suggested that since the tripod dedicated in sanctuaries and tombs may originally have been regarded as the substitution for a deity, and the decorative animals on it as divine attributes[38], the tripod-cauldrons decorated by griffin-protomes might have represented the deity (male or female) in its chthonic aspect[39].

On the other hand, griffins were also associated with Apollo, who as the sun-god is not generally regarded as chthonian in nature. Their mythical habitat in the Hyperborean regions may have

suggested a link with this deity. Indeed, Aristeas, who in his poem the *Arimaspeia* claimed to have brought to Greece from the North the idea of the griffin, was himself closely associated with Apollo. He was a devotee of the god; and the story was told that 240 years after his apparent death, he reappeared in Metapontus, bringing with him the worship of Apollo[40]. It seems that griffins were regarded as symbols of the sun itself; for, at least by late Roman times, Apollo is not seldom described as driving a chariot drawn by these flying creatures[41]. This conception, perhaps not so explicit in the earlier literature of Greece, may well have derived from the Hyperborean association which was already established in the Archaic period. Certainly, if it were known that in regions of the far North, there were times when the sun never set, a parallel between this phenomenon and the ever-vigilant gold-guarding griffins might easily spring to mind. The animals grouped with Apollo's cult-statue in Delos have been interpreted by some as griffins; although Boardman prefers to see them as sphinxes[42].

(iii) *Sirens*

Sirens had the bodies of birds, and the faces of women. But in Homer they appear simply as singers of an especially melodious but deadly sort, since by the sweetness of their voices, they enchanted all who heard them, till eventually their victims died of starvation. When Odysseus and his crew passed by in their ship, they saw round the sirens a heap of mouldering corpses[43]. The parentage which later writers accorded them reflected their early association with song and death; since they were supposed by some to be the daughters of Chthon and of the blood of the river-god Achelous[44]; but they were also regarded as daughters of the Muses[45]. Pausanias repeats a story of

the sirens which links them with Hera: she persuaded them to compete with the Muses in song - but the Muses triumphed, and pulled off the sirens' feathers to make themselves crowns[46]. Pausanias uses the tale to explain why Hera's ancient cult-statue at Koroneia, which he saw, carried the sirens in its hand. It shows, too, that since the *Odyssey* was written down, these singers had acquired bird-like wings, and were associated with the Muses, though hardly in a filial relationship.

Because of their association also with death, the sirens appeared on grave-monuments; perhaps the best-known example being the so-called Harpy Monument (500-470 BC) in the city of Xanthos in Lycia; which is decorated with reliefs showing sirens carrying off small female figures which represent the souls of the dead[47]. Here the sirens appear as "chthonian escorts of the dead" (as Cook describes them), who like a windstorm carried away the living to the underworld[48]. Alternatively, they may have been regarded as the souls of the dead themselves[49], like the human-faced birds depicted in Egyptian tombs. One R-F vase-painting shows a siren on a column serving as a grave-marker, like the more common sphinx[50]; and in this context it may be interpreted in either sense. In any case, the association of the sirens with death is evident; and Christou interprets them as chthonian attributes of the
52 *potnia theron*[51]. Thus their appearance on bronze cauldrons, often in the midst of griffin-protomes, serves, according to Christou, in the same way as these, to express the chthonian aspect of the deity[52].

(iv) Chimaeras

The essential characteristics of the chimaera are that it breathed fire, and was a monster in which elements of the lion, the goat and the serpent combined. It appears in the *Iliad* as a creature formed like

a lion in front, a goat in the middle, and a serpent behind[53]; while in Hesiod's *Theogony* it has three heads which correspond to each of these animals[54]. Homer and Hesiod agree that it breathed fire and was killed by Bellerophon and Pegasos; while in Apollodorus' account of the chimaera, he includes the detail that it was the offspring of Typhon and Echidna; and that before it was killed by the hero and his winged horse, it had ravaged the countryside and the herds with its firey breath[55]. Since it was Athena who helped Bellerophon to tame Pegasos, she may be regarded as having had a hand in the chimaera's eventual destruction[56].

B. The distribution of fabulous animal representations in sanctuaries

(i) Sphinxes

Over 250 representations of sphinxes were discovered in the sanctuaries examined in this account; the greater part of them were dedicated in shrines of the goddesses Artemis, Hera and Athena. Artemis received seventy or more, mostly at her Spartan sanctuary, where the number of lead figurines is not specified; Hera received approximately sixty of the 250 listed - mostly at Perachora, but also at Samos. At Samos two imported oriental bronzes show a goddess in close juxtaposition with a pair of sphinxes: a Syrian deity standing on a lion's head base is flanked by the sphinxes, while an Egyptian female protome has heraldic sphinxes engraved on its collar. The mid-sixth century altar of Hera, too, was decorated by sphinxes (as well as by lions) in relief. About the same numbers of the sphinxes reported were offered in sanctuaries of Athena; but Zeus and Apollo, from whose sanctuaries about twenty each were recovered, figure much less prominently as recipients of these images. If there is any conclusion to be drawn from

such a distribution, it is that the traditional association with the sphinx of an ancient goddess of wild nature and of death may have counted for more in their dedication than any myth such as that which connects the sphinx with the Delphic oracle.

The closer juxtaposition of goddess with sphinx, as it is seen on the Prinias goddess' robe, in the two oriental bronzes dedicated in the Samian Heraion, and perhaps also in two of the Spartan bone *protomai* ("presumably of Orthia"[57]) which have *intaglio* sphinxes on the reverse, seems to offer some confirmation of this traditional association of the sphinx with a female rather than a male deity. Moreover, I believe that the sphinx engraved on the back of a late eighth or early
7 seventh-century ivory comb, also from Artemis Orthia, may even have been intended as a comment on the myth of the judgement of Paris, which is represented on the other side. In giving the apple to Aphrodite, Paris incurred the vengeance of the other two goddesses, always liable to wrath at such slights. On the back of the comb, two sphinxes hold their helpless male victim upside down in their claws. This seems a fairly apposite symbolic rendering of the deadly anger of Hera and Athena towards Paris, which led eventually to the destruction of Troy and of all Priam's sons. But this interpretation can only be speculative. It must also be recognized that the sphinx was a very popular decorative *motif*, which no doubt lost much of the symbolic and religious significance it may once have had; and it might be dedicated as a pleasing ornament with supernatural connotations at any sanctuary where it was the custom to offer images of animals.

(ii) Griffins

Well over 400 representations of griffins came to light in the sanctuaries under discussion. It is not possible to state the quantity more exactly because the bronze cauldron-protomes from Samos have not so far been precisely enumerated; nor can we be sure of the "great number" of clay protomes which decorated the small or miniature *lebetes* at Gortyn. It is probably correct to say that at least 75% of the griffins reported took the form of these protomes, bronze or clay, which were made to decorate the rims of vases during the seventh and early sixth centuries[58]. The two sanctuaries which have yielded bronze griffin-protomes from cauldrons in most quantity (over 100 in each) are Olympia and Samos: shrines belonging to Zeus and Hera respectively; while the sanctuary on the Acropolis of Gortyn belonged to a female deity who was eventually associated with Athena[59]. Thus Zeus, Hera and Athena were the recipients of most of the decorative griffins from cauldrons which have come to light - but almost exclusively at only one of their sanctuaries. A few of the bronze type were found in Athena's sanctuaries of Athens, Lindos and Delphi; one each at the Argive Heraion and at Perachora; while fragments of one possible griffin's head from a cauldron were discovered in Zeus' sanctuaries at Nemea and Dodona. This scarcely allows us to conclude, however, that Zeus, Hera and Athena were generally the favoured recipients of cauldrons decorated with griffins' heads. The same type of protome has also been reported at four sanctuaries of Apollo (predominantly at Delphi where at least sixteen complete and fragmentary heads came to light); three of Artemis, and one of Poseidon. It is therefore enough to say that according to the evidence which survives, it became the custom to dedicate such vessels in large numbers to Zeus and Hera at Olympia and Samos

respectively, and as small terracotta imitations, to Athena at Gortyn. The Samos dedications, at least, are consistent with Herodotus' account of the large griffin-cauldron set up in the temple of Hera during the seventh century. Either those who offered it sought to excel all other similar dedications; or possibly all such dedications were made in imitation of this striking monument[60]. It is scarcely likely that the griffin-cauldrons of Olympia were offered because griffins (in Prometheus' words) were Zeus' sharp-beaked hounds. These orientalizing vessels, rather, were felt to be appropriate dedications for more than one deity: perhaps because they were used in a number of rituals; perhaps (originally) because the vessel represented the deity itself, and the fearsome griffins, once known as familiars or attributes of Bronze Age deities, were felt to be fitting guardians of the god, or his sacred vessel.

About 100 representations of griffins, both protomes and complete animals, did not take the form of cauldron-attachments. A few were terracotta,limestone,or ivory figurines, while others were the decorative *motifs* on seals, and other objects of ivory, metal, paste or stone. Some engraved stones found in the sanctuaries considered here date from the Bronze Age. Of these representations, at least twenty were dedicated to Artemis, and two to Aphaia, her near relation; twenty or thirty to Athena (including nine lead protomes from Emporio)[61]; and thirty-five to Hera, including twenty-five scarab and seal engravings from Perachora. Apollo received eight griffin-representations (apart from cauldron-attachments), and Zeus four; while in Demeter's sanctuary at Knossos a Minoan gem engraved with a griffin was found; and Penteskouphia and Isthmia each yielded one representation of a griffin. The nine small fifth century lead griffin-protomes from Emporio were found inside

Athena's temple, and John Boardman has suggested that these may have decorated the helmet of the cult-statue[62]. In this case, the griffins would have served as guardians of Athena in person,as well as an expression of her power in war[63]. As we have seen, there is precedent for such a helmet-decoration in the gold and ivory Athenian statue described by Pausanias, although the number of griffins, and their arrangement , differed.

Apollo's association with the griffin as a Hyperborean creature, and possibly as a symbol of the sun (which became more explicit in Latin literature) did not apparently result in a noticeably large number of cauldron-dedications with this *motif* during the Archaic period. Many more votives of this kind came to light in three single sanctuaries of Zeus, Hera and Athena. Yet even in Archaic times, the griffin may have been felt as one of his attributes. One gold plaque and two zones on another, from the Delphi deposit, have reliefs of a griffin, and these may have decorated the robe of an ivory statue of the god[64]. There is also a possibility that Apollo's temple in Kalymnos was decorated by a frieze of griffins. While Sir Charles Newton was travelling in the Aegean during the nineteenth century, he saw fragments of such a frieze in two Kalymnos churches, and believed that they came from the temple[65]. The bronze sword-handle shaped like a griffin's head was also, he believed, an offering made to Apollo. But Newton gave no indication of the date of either.

One of the two griffin-representations reported from Olympia which did not take the form of a cauldron-protome, is the sixth century bronze relief which may come from the base of a *thymiaterion*. The principal *motif* of this piece is a winged *potnia theron* with two lions, and the heraldic griffins in one of the zones above may therefore be

interpreted as attributes of the goddess, even if they are not so immediate as her lions. It may be supposed that if the theme of the relief was of any significance in its dedication (and not merely an ornament chosen at random), Zeus was not intended as the recipient; and there was no lack of female deities at Olympia to whom not only its intrinsic value, but also its decoration would make it a suitable offering.

In five other representations from our sanctuaries the griffin may possibly be seen (from its context) as the adjunct of a deity. One of these is the group of lead protomes from Emporio, which Boardman has interpreted as belonging to Athena's cult-statue. The other four examples all come from sanctuaries of Artemis. An ivory protome of Orthia from the Limnai sanctuary has a seated griffin in *intaglio* on the reverse side; the skirt of an early Archaic figurine from the Thasos Artemision is painted with a griffin; while in the Scala Greca sanctuary near Syracuse the remains of a fourth or third century terracotta figurine was discovered, in which the goddess held by its paw what was interpreted by Orsi as a griffin. The painting of Artemis riding this animal through the air, seen by Strabo in her sanctuary beside the mouth of the Alpheios, cannot be assigned a date; although it has been suggested that the painter, Aregon, may have lived at about the time of the Persian war[66]. But the Orthia protome, and the Thasos figurine, at least, show that the griffin was considered as an appropriate enough decorative adjunct for a goddess associated with Artemis, even during the Archaic period. By the time the Sicilian terracotta was made, in the Late Classical or Hellenistic age, it could evidently be seen more unequivocally as one of her attributes, less common than the deer, but like it, a familiar attendant. This would have lent appropriateness to the gold necklace with its pendant griffins, which according to Delian temple records was part of Artemis' property by the early third century BC[67].

In the final representation which I have noted of the griffin as a divine attribute or companion, it appears not with a female but a male deity: on a seventh century ivory plaque from Artemis Orthia the god, or hero, stands between a seated griffin and a winged lion, clasping both of them by the neck. Male figures between two lions, or fabulous beasts, had been represented on gems of the Bronze Age: a stone from Knossos, for example, depicts just such a heraldic pair of lion and griffin[68]. At Artemis Orthia's sanctuary, there are several representations of heroes slaying monsters[69], and two ivory reliefs show a winged *potnios theron* holding two birds of prey[70]. Among the features inherited by Artemis Orthia from the Bronze Age fertility-goddess may have been a *paredros* who complemented her in some of her aspects; although if he existed at Limnai, he was evidently soon eclipsed by the more dominant goddess. It has been suggested that Artemis became associated with the griffin in later times, simply through analogy with her brother Apollo[71]. Might it not have been possible, alternatively, that Apollo acquired his griffin through the female deity with whom he was paired as a brother in mythology? Or because in prehistoric times a youthful male deity, corresponding to Apollo's later image (though probably the consort rather than the brother of the goddess) already shared with her the griffin as attribute? Before it was harnessed to the sun-god's chariot, it stood for the power of wild and dangerous nature, which the older deities both possessed and controlled. With time it may have become a mere decorative adjunct of divinity; but at least in the Archaic period, its presence in sanctuaries and on the rims of sacred vessels was a reminder, if not an expression, of its earlier significance.

(iii) Sirens

Over eighty representations of sirens were reported from the sanctuaries examined in this study. About half this number took the form of attachments for the handles of bronze cauldrons, which they sometimes decorated in combination with the larger griffin-protomes[72]. Eighteen are reported from sanctuaries of Apollo (mostly from Delphi); but not surprisingly even more (over twenty) come from Olympia, where so many large bronze vases were dedicated; so there is little justification for regarding the Delphi sirens as symbols of the Muses. From the Samian Heraion, where a very large number of griffin-protomes came to light, I can find reference to only one siren from a cauldron; either they were omitted from the reports, or the Samian pattern of cauldron only rarely included this particular decoration. Yet the siren as an independent artefact could evidently be regarded as a suitable dedication for Hera, since an inscribed pillar in the sanctuary witnesses the dedication of one made of silver[73]. Possibly the association which lay behind this choice of votive, also determined the form of Pythodorus' cult-statue of the goddess at Koroneia, which Pausanias saw. But this need not have been the *aetion* about the singing-competition between the Sirens and the Muses. It is more likely that the Sirens, as agents and concomitants of death, were attributes of any deity who could mete it out to human beings. Originally, this may have led to their association with griffins on the sacred vessels of the gods; but whatever symbolism may once have prompted their inclusion, it is probable that this quite soon became simply a decorative fashion. Athena, too, was the recipient of a few bronze cauldrons decorated by sirens, at Lindos, Sparta, and on the Acropolis of Athens.

At least twenty siren-representations (another 25% of the total recorded) took the form of Archaic plastic vases; in fact the siren was a favourite shape for these vessels. All of those listed here came from the sanctuaries of female deities: over half were dedicated to Hera (mostly at Perachora, but also at the *Heraia* of Samos and Delos); five to Athena, one to Demeter, two to Aphaia, and one at the Delion of Paros. The remaining twenty-two or three sirens reported took the more various forms of jewellery, ivory reliefs, shield-band or leg-greave *motifs*, and terra-cotta figurines which were not vases; but the fragmentary limestone statue from the sanctuary of Artemis Diktynna in Crete, which has been identified only tentatively as a siren, was evidently on a larger scale. At least eight of these (not including the Diktynnaion sculpture) were dedicated to Artemis, who received no siren-shaped cauldron attachments, and only one plastic vase; although in fact the number must be higher than eight, since the two references to lead sirens at Artemis Orthia are types, and not individual examples. Five more siren-repesentations were discovered in sanctuaries of Athena, and four in *Heraia*; while two were dedicated to Zeus, one to Apollo, one to Demeter, and two were represented on the plaques of Penteskouphia.

Christou has commented on the presence of the siren-*motif* at Artemis Orthia, where in addition to the unenumerated lead figurines, a silver pendant, a bronze brooch, and an ivory seal engraved with a siren were discovered. He lays stress on its chthonic significance as a daughter of Earth, and interprets the siren on the seal as a sub-
40b,c stitute for the *potnia theron* as death-goddess[74]. Certainly, a goddess of vegetation seems to be depicted in the female holding the plant, which appears on another face of the seal; and the siren may well express her chthonic aspect[75]. Not only the pomegranate, but as

I suggested earlier[76], the bee (both of which also appear on this seal) may have been regarded as attributes of the vegetation goddess. It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that the siren, like the bee and the pomegranate,is another *motif* common to Artemis Orthia and to Ephesos, where a siren is represented on an ivory relief[77].

Images of the siren, like the griffin, may be dedicated to almost any deity. This may be because it carried overtones of death, the underworld, and supernatural power. Its presence in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, particularly on the ivory seal, may reflect the chthonian side of the deity. But the archaeological evidence suggests that the bronze sirens on the cauldrons, and the siren-shaped terracotta vases which make up the majority of these representations, were dedicated to any deity, in any sanctuary where bronze cauldrons or plastic vases were customarily offered, with little respect to any significance which the images may sometimes have held.

(iv) Chimaeras

I have found only ten or eleven representations of chimaeras as single *motifs* in the sanctuaries considered here; apart from the "numerous" scenes on terracotta plaques from Gortyn, which depict the death of the monster at the hands of Bellerophon, aided by Pegasos. Since the deity who presided over Bellerophon's endeavours, by taming his horse, was Athena, it is appropriate that representations of this scene should have been dedicated in such numbers at her Gortyn sanctuary. But it is scarcely possible to conclude that one deity rather than another had a special interest in the chimaera *per se*. Its presence as a decorative *motif* on the zone of a shield-band at Olympia was no doubt due to the apotropaic value of a fire-breathing monster. It may

also occasionally have been regarded as an attribute of the *potnia theron*, since both at Perachora, and at Lato in Crete, it appears in one of a series of zones (in bronze and in terracotta) immediately next to another on which a winged goddess holds one or two water-birds. As a possible attribute, it is not hard to interpret: while the water-birds are symbols of moisture and of life, the fire-breathing chimaera surely expresses the *potnia*'s character as a goddess of death. Most of the chimaera-representations were discovered at the Heraion of Perachora, not only on the bronze strip, but also as the *motif* on five ivory seals and a button (one of which shows the monster attacking a goat-victim); while an engraved stone has on it a chimaera-like fusion of lion and snakes, but without the goat-element of the monster. But if Hera inherited much of the terrifying nature of the *potnia theron* (and mythology shows her as a vindictive goddess), she was not alone. The sheet-bronze chimaera of Asea was dedicated to Athena with equal appropriateness. Probably it is only the comparative rarity of this type of image, and the chances of survival and discovery, which has prevented it from coming to light in other sanctuaries.

C. Conclusion

The sphinxes, griffins and sirens, whose images have been found in the sanctuaries of the Olympian gods, are shown in mythology (like the more rarely represented chimaera) to be agents of terror and death. They killed either by their more than natural strength and their violence, or by guile and an appeal to human weakness. In a prehistoric age when Nature itself held terrors in the form of earthquakes, burning droughts, and plagues, such monsters might have been imagined as embodiments of Nature's crueller face, and man's inescapable end.

And since the gods held sway over Nature, the sphinxes and griffins were no doubt viewed as their servants and attributes. Hence their appearance in the company of deities on Bronze Age gems. With the development of representational art in historic times, the fantastic creatures, with their interesting shapes and often imposing presence, became popular themes for image-makers of all kinds. No doubt they were often fashioned without much thought for their symbolic significance; although their use as grave-markers, guardians of sanctuaries, or as decoration for weapons bears witness (like the legends which were told of them) to their continued association with destruction, fear and death.

No one deity was concerned exclusively with this frightening side of human experience: on the other hand, no deity was altogether unconcerned with it. It is therefore not surprising that representations of fabulous beasts should be found in the sanctuaries of all the gods where those of real animals were also dedicated. Neither was the ceremonial cauldron, decorated during the Archaic period by griffin-protomes more often than by natural forms, the exclusive votive for any one deity. Zeus at Olympia, Hera in Samos, and Athena on the Acropolis of Gortyn apparently received more griffin-cauldrons than did Apollo, the god who was associated with the beast in mythology, and who finally took possession of it as a symbol of the sun. Griffin-protomes are clearly present at Delphi, but at Olympia and Samos they were discovered in their hundreds.

Apart from these griffin-shaped cauldron attachments, the female deities Artemis, Athena and Hera, generally received more fabulous beasts than did Zeus and Apollo; and were more often represented with them. This is no doubt because they were the heirs of the Bronze Age

potnia theron, who according to the iconographical evidence was greater than her male consort or son. Thus Hera's cult-statue held sirens in its hand; Artemis rode through the air on a griffin, and Athena's helmet was decorated by both sphinxes and griffins. But sirens were dedicated to Artemis and Athena as well as to Hera (and except as cauldron-decorations, scarcely at all to male deities); and sphinxes in roughly equal measure to all three goddesses (and rather less to Apollo and Zeus); and the same is true of griffins, apart from the cauldron-decorations. This fairly even distribution of the representations of fabulous beasts mirrors not the specific legends which have been preserved in literature, and which link them with one or another god - but their wider associations with nature and with death, and their prehistoric role as attributes of a Bronze Age *potnia theron*.

Footnotes

1. Apollodorus. III.5.8. See also Sophocles. *Oedipus Tyrannus*. 391-8; Euripides. *Phoenician Maidens*. 806-811.

2. Pausanias. V.11.2.

3. Euripides. *Electra*. 471.

4. Pausanias. I.24.5. (The practice of decorating helmets with sphinxes has received archaeological confirmation in the discovery of an Archaic ram's head helmet engraved with two, at Olympia.)

5. *Phoenician Maidens*. *Loc. cit.*

6. Pausanias. IX.26.2.

7. Boardman. Fig. 100; Frazer. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. V., pp. 286 ff.

8. Pausanias. III.18.4.

9. The statue is briefly described by Pausanias as carrying the three Graces in its hand (IX.35.3); and the commentator on Pindar's fourteenth Olympian ode adds the further detail that it carried a golden bow. (*Schol. Pind. Olymp.* XIV.16) There is no mention of sphinxes; but there are second century Athenian coins on which a *kouros*-like figure, holding the bow and the Graces, is flanked by two creatures which look like sphinxes (Boardman, p. 77, Fig. 126; B.V. Head. *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Attica-Megaris - Aegina*. (B-M). London. 1888. pp. 72-3, Pl. 11.8). However, the faces are not very clear, and the creatures have been interpreted by Head and by Furtwängler as griffins. See below, p. 300.

10. *Scholia in Phoenissas*. 1031. (W. Dindorf. *Scholia Graeca in Euripides Tragoedias*. Vol. III. Oxford. 1863. p. 276)

11. Herodotus. IV.79. This decorative feature of Scyles' palace is seen by G.M. Hirst as an expression of the king's allegiance to Dionysos ("The Cults of Olbia". *JHS* 22 (1902) p. 260).

12. Walter. *Das Heraion von Samos*. pp. 9 and 12.

13. *MMR* (1950) p. 368, note 96.

14. *BSA* 49 (1954) Pl. 38c.

15. See A.J. Evans. "Mycenean tree and pillar cult". *JHS* 21 (1901) pp. 99-204. Especially p. 163. A gold ring from Mycene depicts the same *motif* (*Ibid*. p. 155, Fig. 33); while the plaque from Gortyn showing two sphinxes on either side of a flower indicates that this Bronze Age concept was alive during the Archaic period, within the context of the shrine of a female deity.

16. *BCH* 54 (1930) pp. 204-9.

17. E. Kunze. *Kretische Bronzereliefs*. Stuttgart. 1931. p. 7, no. 5, Pl. 7.

18. *Ibid*. p. 12, no. 7, Pl. 24.

19. E.D. Van Buren. *Greek fictile revetments in the Archaic period*. Washington, D.C. 1973, p. 140, Fig. 68. The exact provenance of the fragments is unknown.

20. While the horse and lion on the skirt are echoed in the two friezes of the architraves, the sphinx on the skirt is echoed by the *akroteria* of the temple, as shown in Pernier's reconstruction. [*AJA* 38 (1934) Pl. 19.B] All three animals also figure as *motifs* on *pithoi* found in the same sanctuary.

21. *Potnia theron*. pp. 108-111.

22. Sixth century Attic grave-*stelai* carried sphinxes (see Boardman, Figs. 224-228). Homolle has suggested that the Sphinx of the Naxians served as a symbolic grave-marker for the Python's tomb at Delphi [*FdD* IV.1 p. 54].

23. Apollodorus. III.5.8; Pausanias. I.24.6 (occasionally, as on some seals from Perachora, it was depicted with birds' legs).

24. *BSA* 37 (1936-7) pp. 121-2.

25. Pausanias. I.24.5; Herodotus. IV.79.

26. Herodotus. III.16; IV.13-16; IV.27. Pausanias. I.24.6.

27. Aeschylus. *Prometheus*. 803-4.

28. Strabo. VIII.3.12.

29. A. Baumeister. *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*. Vol. I. pp. 130-131, Fig. 138; *cf* Picard. *Claros et Ephiese*. p. 478, note 4.

30. Herodotus. IV.152.

31. Though it also featured as a decoration in the more secular context of the throne-rooms at Knossos and at Pylos.

32. *MMR* (1950) p. 361, Fig. 173. A gem from Knossos depicts a figure (of doubtful sex) flanked by a lion and a griffin [*AE* 1907, Pl. 8.136].

33. Mylonas. *Mycene and the Mycenean Age*. Fig. 127.3; Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. Pl. II.39. A gold ring from Mycene depicts a similar motif (*Ibid*. Pl. VI.18).

34. For example, a Laconian mirror-handle of the late sixth century [Congdon. *Caryatid mirrors of Ancient Greece*. no. 15; *Lexlc* II. "Aphrodite" 375]; and a 6th C silver *rhyton* from Kelermes in Russia, on which a winged goddess holds two griffins by a paw [G. Radet, *Cybébé*. Paris. 1909. pp. 18-20, Fig. 25].

35. *Olympia*. IV.696.

36. F.H. Marshall. *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the departments of antiquities*. (British Museum). London. 1911. no. 1610, p. 171, Pl. 27.

37. *Potnia theron* p. 107.

38. *Ibid*. p. 89. In support of his argument, Christou quotes an article by Doro Levi, in which a bronze *mitra* from Axos is described [*AJA* 49 (1945) pp. 293-313, Fig. 15]. On it was engraved a tripod, flanked by two large rampant lions, and having an inward facing bird on each side-handle; while surmounting it was a human head. The tripod occupies the position of an anthropomorphic deity in a *potnia theron* group.

39. *Ibid*. p. 111-112.

40. Herodotus. IV.16. *cf RE* 2 (1896) 876.

41. For example, Sidonius Apollinaris, a poet of the fifth century AD, includes such an image in two of his lyrics (*Carmina*. II.307-309; XXII.67); and in a letter he lists the griffin as one of Apollo's attributes, like the lyre, tripod and laurel (*Epistalae*. VIII.9.5).

42. Roscher. I.1761; Furtwängler in *Archaeologische Zeitung*. 40 (1882) p. 331-2. The beasts which appear on the Athenian coin look more like sphinxes; although they are too small to be identified with certainty. See above, note 9.

43. *Odyssey*. XII.39-54. According to Apollonius Rhodius, the sirens were daughters of Achelous who lived on the island of Anthemoessa, beguiled with sweet songs whoever landed, and then destroyed them [*Argonautica*. IV.891-4].

44. Euripides. *Helen*. 168-9; Libanius. *Progymnasmata*. 4.

45. *RE* 3.A1 (1927) 295.

46. Pausanias. IX.34.2.

47. *RE* 9.A2 (1967) 1385; *EAA* VII (1966) p. 1227.

48. *JHS* 14 (1894) p. 147.

49. *RE* 3.A1 (1927) 293.

50. Cook. *Zeus*. III. p. 388. Fig. 254.

51. *Potnia theron*. p. 112. They appear as the heraldic attributes of a Laconian bronze mirror caryatid of 560-550 BC (Congdon. *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*. no. 5; *Lexlc*. II. "Aphrodite". 374). See Pl. 52.

52. See Boardman. Figs. 20 and 21.

53. *Iliad*. VI.181-2.

54. *Theogony*. 319-322.

55. Apollodorus. II.3.1-2.

56. Pausanias. II.14.1.

57. *AO* p. 219.

58. See Boardman, Fig. 20.

59. The small clay vessels dedicated there were presumably imitations of the larger and more valuable bronzes (see *ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 235, Fig. 28). Three similar clay griffin-heads were discovered at Prinias, and one at Lato; so it is probable that this type of dedication was a Cretan practice.

60. Herodotus. IV.152. The incident took place during or near the time of Battus, who founded Cyrene during the seventh century.

61. There are over thirty griffins reported in sanctuaries of Athena, including the ten bronze protomes from the Acropolis of Athens catalogued by De Ridder. But these could all be cauldron-protomes. De Ridder believed that some of them may have been devices used to decorate chariots, but there is no means of knowing which, if any, were intended for such a use [De Ridder, p. 147].

62. John Boardman. *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955. Greek Emporio.* (*BSA* Supplementary Voume 6). Oxford. 1967. pp. 26-7.

63. Griffins' protomes were also used to decorate war-chariots (see *BCH* 18 (1894) p. 493); and De Ridder has suggested that some of the bronzes from the Athenian Acropolis may once have served this purpose.

64. *BCH* 63 (1939) p. 99.

65. Newton. *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant.* London. 1865. Vol. I. pp. 315-316.

66. *RE* 2 (1896) 619.

67. *BCH* 15 (1891) p. 130.

68. *AE* (1907) Pl. 8.136; *MMR* (1950) p. 358.

69. *AO* p. 213, Pl. 106. Two seventh century ivory plaques show one hero killing a gorgon, and another in conflict with a dragon.

70. *AO* p. 209, Pl. 99.1 and 2.

71. *RE* 2 (1896) 619; *RE* 7 (1912) 1926; L. Preller and C. Robert. *Griechische Mythologie.* Berlin. 1894. Vol. I. p. 298.

72. See Boardman. Figs. 20-21.

73. *AM* 55 (1930) p. 47.

74. *Potnia theron*. p. 112.

75. On a *stele* from the Cretan Diktynnaion, provenance of what may be a large stone siren, Artemis is also depicted with the attribute of a tree [*MA* 11 (1901) p. 303, Fig. 9].

76. "Insects", pp. 226-227.

77. "Insects", note 39.

CONCLUSION

Any study of Greek votive offerings makes it clear that animals figured very largely in the worship and cults of Olympian deities. Not only were dedications made in their image or decorated with it; but animals might also adorn the sacred buildings of a shrine, and be represented as the companions of their patron-deities. A cathedral of our own era, though it might well contain certain symbolic animals (the eagle or the dove, the lion or the lamb), is hardly likely to present such a full picture of the animal world as the Greek sanctuary of antiquity. This visual animal presence was echoed in some of the titles given to the gods, and in the stories which were told of them. The meaning of some animals seen in sanctuaries has been explained by ancient writers (especially by Pausanias); in other cases, where direct comment is lacking, their significance may be deduced (with varying degrees of probability) from more indirect sources; but sometimes it is scarcely possible to draw firm conclusions as to what they meant; and indeed in some instances their function may have been simply decorative.

The question of the significance of animals is plainly connected with that of appropriateness in dedication, which is the point at which this study began. The distribution of different kinds of animal-representations from nearly 100 sanctuaries has been examined to see if any patterns emerged which seemed to indicate that certain animals were dedicated by preference to one deity more than another. Such patterns are discernable in the distribution of some animal-types; but even when no clear pattern of dedication is to be seen, a discussion of most of the species to be found in sanctuaries has led to certain conclusions (tentative though these must often be) about their religious significance.

(i) Domestic animals and sacrifice

The question of sacrifice, which arises in the consideration of some animal-models, is specially relevant to those species kept in herds - the cattle, sheep, goats and pigs which were both an important source of human wealth, and a favoured kind of burnt offering for the gods. Apart from the fact that goats were not usually sacrificed to Athena, it appears (from the evidence of literature, cult-scenes, and animal remains in sanctuaries) that most deities might receive any of these animals in sacrifice. But the distribution of their images (alone or with divine or human companions) is not always so even as sacrificial practice seems to have been. For example, although pig-bones at Isthmia, Ephesos and Halieis are a proof that they were sacrificed to Poseidon, Artemis and Apollo respectively, it is most frequently in sanctuaries of Demeter that representations of pigs and pig-carriers (especially when carved in marble) are to be found. Cattle, which were equally widely sacrificed, were (apart from their numerous presence at Olympia) rather more prominent (in terms of proportion if not in absolute numbers) in sanctuaries of Poseidon and Hera than of other deities. These animal-representations, therefore, may sometimes have commemorated or replaced a sacrifice; but it is probable that they were dedicated for other, or at least for additional motives. Important though the sacrifice of pigs was in Demeter's cult, the animals also expressed an aspect of the goddess; and indeed the practice of sacrifice is itself consistent with such symbolism. Demeter's pig was probably an embodiment of her earthy domain with its connotations of fertility and death, and originally she may even have been conceived in its shape. So it is likely that the image was dedicated to her in part because of this deeper association, whether or not the worshipper was conscious of it. The bull and the

cow, whose associations with Poseidon and Hera have been given some expression in mythology, similarly may have been dedicated for the qualities they embodied, and not primarily as commemorations of sacrifice. In the bull of stone or metal, as in the living victim, Poseidon's earth-shaking power was returned to him; and in Hera's cattle—representations the worshipper may have seen an image of the ox-eyed and majestic wife of Zeus.

There is some literary evidence that goat-sacrifice was particularly important in cults of Artemis, and the presence of goat-images, as well as their physical remains in several of her sanctuaries,could reflect the practice. But literature also suggests that the goat's relationship with Artemis was more complex than that of deity and sacrificial beast. Both substitution-myths and goat-derived titles even hint at a common identity, such as that suggested by Frazer for Demeter and the pig. Bones and engravings indicate that the goat played its part in Bronze Age Cretan cults, and was probably an attribute of the *potnia theron* to whom Artemis, like other female deities, was heir. This may have been in part because of its well-known sexual potency - a quality which made it a suitable attribute for Artemis in her role of fertility-goddess, and an appropriate decoration for her temple at Brauron. But Athena in Lindos and Hera in Samos, who were also *potniai theron* concerned with fertility, received their share of goat-dedications.

If the sacrificial animal embodied an aspect of the deity with which it was chiefly associated, then its sacrifice to that deity may be seen as the symbolic return of a divine property to its source. It is possible that the dedication of the beast's image (the pig to Demeter, or the bull to Poseidon) may be a symbolic gesture which is parallel to the sacrifice rather than commemorative of it. At the same time, the

possibility cannot be excluded that the worshipper, on a much more literal plane, was simply making a thank-offering or a request for the increase of his herds.

(ii) The horse and the world of men

The horse-figurines dedicated in such quantity during the Geometric period and later, are an argument against the theory that models of animals are substitutes for sacrifice. For literary references to the sacrifice of horses are uncommon, yet horses alone, or with riders or chariots were widely dedicated in the sanctuaries of many gods. In spite of the unusually large number found at Olympia, it seems that they were not regarded as the property of any one deity. The horse, rather, was an expression of human status, and its presence in sanctuaries may have witnessed principally gratitude or hope for success in life. If it had a meaning beyond worldly value, it is probable that this varied according to the sanctuary in which it was dedicated. Thus, while it was dedicated to Artemis Orthia as an attribute of the horse-riding *potnia* which is depicted in a number of terracotta figurines, on the Acropolis of Athens, the scale, contexts, and occasionally the accompanying inscriptions of the representations, suggest that the horse was regarded as a weapon of war, and a token of victory. The single large horse-protome discovered in Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis no doubt had a chthonian meaning (since the horse was connected with the world of the dead); but in relation to Poseidon the horse was a symbol of moving water (in its powerful and not its fertile aspect) - so the horse-representations offered to him, especially the horses ridden by the god himself, may be an expression of his direct control of the sea and rivers. One of the few horse-sacrifices to Olympian deities recorded in literature was made to Poseidon in Arcadia, where he was probably once horse-shaped.

The horses were thrown into a river leading to the sea, so that this is a clear instance of the god's property and nature being returned to its source. At Olympia, however, the early figurines of horses may have expressed what was important in the lives of herd-owners or warriors; though it is also possible that the cult of a horse-taming female deity, Hippodameia, existed there. But in time the horses, and especially the unusual number of chariots, must have come to be associated with the Games, and with the myth of Pelops, as it was told by Pindar and represented on the pediment of Zeus' temple.

(iii) Animal-representations and fertility

The herd-animals which were a customary indication of the wealth and status of human-beings were, like all worldly possessions, a potential sacrifice for the gods; and their images in sanctuaries might thus in theory have referred to sacrificial practice. But many of the animals whose representations were present in sanctuaries could not generally have been regarded as human property, and must have served only rarely (if at all) as sacrificial victims. It seems, then, that their images (assuming they are not purely decorative) are to be interpreted in other ways. It has been suggested, in fact, that even sacrificable animals like the pig and the goat embodied certain qualities which were seen as proper to one or more deity; and that the representations of these animals in sanctuaries may have been an acknowledgment of such associations, and a return of his or her property to the deity. It may be in terms of such divine or elemental qualities that the representations in sanctuaries of less sacrificable animals like the snake or the lion, and still more the beasts which existed only in legend, should also be interpreted.

The capacity for reproduction in humans, animals and plants was no doubt a chief preoccupation of those who worshipped and presented their offerings to the gods of antiquity. If the pig offered to the earth-goddess, and the goat presented to Artemis and other goddesses embodied various aspects of reproductive force, they were not the only creatures to be associated with fertility. The reptiles which live close to the earth or in water, the snakes, tortoises and frogs whose images were discovered in a number of sanctuaries, were also regarded as emblems of the life-giving elements in which they moved.

The snake had been represented with a goddess in Minoan Crete, and was associated in mythology with the primitive earth-goddess of Delphi, and with child-divinities like Zeus Sosipolis and Erichthonius. Thus although as an earth-dweller it appears in funerary contexts, it was also an embodiment of new life; and perhaps because of this dual nature it features as one of the attributes of the Archaic *potnia theron*. It was dedicated in the form of jewellery (especially bracelets), figurines, and bronze vase-decorations, to Artemis, who in several of her sanctuaries was worshipped as a goddess of birth, to Athena on the Acropolis of Athens (home of the Erichthonios myth),and at Olympia where not only Eileithyia and the snake-child Sosipolis, but also Artemis herself had a cult. The importance of snakes on the Athenian Acropolis, where a guardian snake was kept, is marked by their inclusion as a heraldic pair in the pedimental sculptures of an Archaic temple.

Literature does little to illumine the meaning of the tortoise, but despite its legendary connection with Apollo's lyre, it was probably regarded like the snake as a symbol of earth, and the presence of its shells in the Mycenean layers not only at Kalapodi but also at the shrine

of Phylakopi, suggests that it too may have had a role in Bronze Age religion. It was represented beneath the feet of some Archaic mirror-goddesses, and remained an attribute of Aphrodite in later sculpture. It is not surprising that tortoise-figurines were generally dedicated to female deities, especially to Athena Lindia and to Artemis.

Frogs have been even more rarely discovered in sanctuaries than tortoises, but literature is more enlightening as to their possible significance there, since they were clearly and consciously associated with water. Their reproductive capacity too, can hardly have been disregarded, and perhaps because of both these aspects, the frog appears in the same role as the tortoise as an attribute of at least one Archaic mirror-goddess from Laconia. Like the tortoise, the frog was found chiefly in the sanctuaries of female deities, especially those of Artemis. Those dedicated to her came to light at Ephesos, Artemis Orthia and Pherai - in places outside the city and liable to flooding by the nearby river or stream. The Samian Heraion, where more than one frog-image was found, is a similar site.

If images of frogs are rare, birds on the contrary are the most common kind of fauna, apart from horses, to be discovered in sanctuaries; and one large group, the long-necked or long-billed variety designated as water-birds, may properly be considered with frogs because of their natural habitat, and their probable symbolic meaning. (In all of the sanctuaries which produced frog-representations, water-birds also came to light). Water-birds were depicted as attributes of the *potnia theron* both during the Bronze Age and the Archaic period. While some animals express her power over the earth, the long-necked birds show her as a goddess of water, and, by extension, of fertility; and some stories of the gods connected with birth, in which swans appear,

may be interpreted as mythological support for this further meaning. In spite of the fact that the swans flew on Delos at Apollo's birth, and Zeus as a swan was the father of Leda's children, they and other water-birds are primarily to be associated with female fertility-deities like Leto, who was also linked in mythology with frogs; and like frogs, it is in the sanctuaries of goddesses that they were chiefly dedicated. Even excluding the hundred or so long-necked bronze birds from Pherai, Artemis received considerably more water-birds than other goddesses; and sacred buildings in three of her sanctuaries (and as far as I know, only her's) are known to have been decorated with their images. Artemis was not the only heir to the *potnia theron*, with her power over water and fertility, and other goddesses also received this type of dedication; but as a leader of nymphs, at home by rivers and lakes, she was perhaps the chief; and her substantial (though not exclusive) share not only of water-birds, but also of frogs, may be seen as an acknowledgment by the dedicator of this pre-eminence. It is of some interest that in the sanctuaries of Poseidon, who was not a fertility god, and whose different kind of power over water was expressed by the horse, almost no representations of water-birds have been found.

If the birds and reptiles at home on water or in the earth were associated in the ancient world with the fruitfulness of both - and literature suggests that this is so - a religious explanation for the presence of their images in sanctuaries is not lacking. It has been observed that some of the most venerated shrines stood beside lakes and rivers. They were sacred to deities who were possibly first conceived as embodiments of the water so essential to all aspects of life. Real water-birds and frogs, in particular, were surely to be seen and heard by those who visited the sanctuary, and must have seemed like a living manifestation

of the deity's watery domain, and of its fruitfulness. Sometimes the creatures of water and earth had some kind of role to play in cult-rituals: living snakes were kept both in Bronze Age and in historic Greek shrines; the remains of real tortoises (as well as figurines) have been found in sanctuary-sites used in the Bronze Age; and at Delos the ritual crane-dance was linked by legend to a remote past. So the small figurine or personal ornament representing a water-bird, or occasionally a reptile, which the worshipper chose to offer, need not have been merely a toy, but could have expressed his hope of sharing in the fruitfulness which it embodied, through his animals and crops, or in his family.

(iv) The pursuit of prey, and the power of nature

Another winged attribute of the Archaic *potnia theron* was the bird of prey, the hawk or eagle, which is believed to have expressed her mastery over the air, and also perhaps, her power to strike down lesser beings with frightening speed. Some of the representations of this type of bird which have been found in sanctuaries demonstrate its ferocity by depicting the victim (a snake, small animal or bird, or even a man) within its grasp[1]. Like water-birds, birds of prey have been found chiefly in female sanctuaries. They were dedicated in number to Artemis at Ephesos, and both there and in Sparta were represented with the goddess; but the greatest number were discovered in the form of paste and Cypriot limestone hawks in Athena Lindia's sanctuary, which also produced a bronze relief representing the *potnia theron* accompanied by two such birds of prey. The owl, which is simply another type of predatory bird much less commonly represented than the hawk, was also chiefly dedicated to Athena.

The earth-bound equivalent to the hawk or eagle in terms of supremacy, power and danger is the lion, which was even more frequently represented as an attribute of the *potnia theron* than birds of any kind. Probably it symbolized her power over the earth, and the aspects of nature which are to be feared by man; and like the hawk expressed her own fierce character, sometimes voluntarily held in check, and sometimes indulged. Like the hawk, the lion is sometimes depicted attacking or devouring its prey, and this *motif* may alike form part of a temple's sculptural decoration, as on the Acropolis of Athens and perhaps at Pherai, or give shape to a small figurine, like the ivory examples of Artemis Orthia. With or without a victim, representations of lions (whose strength and beauty must have made them a favourite subject for artists) were a common sight in the sanctuaries of the gods, where no doubt they reminded the worshipper of the power of those whose favour they sought.

But lions were not only symbols. They were real inhabitants of ancient Greece, who threatened domestic herds, and were in their turn pursued by hunters. Thus it is not surprising that in mythology they are more often associated with the goddess of hunting, Homer's *potnia theron*, than with other deities. Artemis' character as a huntress also helps to explain her relationship with the goat, since it could be a wild, as well as a domesticated animal; and the hunting-legend of Mt. Cynthos and the Delian altar of goat-horns, and the *stele* from the Cretan Diktynnaion (on which the goddess appears beneath a pediment decorated by dogs attacking goats), reflect their relationship as huntress and quarry. The deer, the wild boar and the bear are also more closely associated with Artemis than with other deities; and to some degree this left its mark on her sanctuaries. In her Epidaurian temple, boars'

heads, together with the dogs which hunted this animal, replaced the more conventional lions' heads as water-spouts; and Philostratus describes a temple (real or imaginary) in which not only boars' but also bears' heads evidently served the same purpose. It is even possible that the engraving on the *stele* from the Cretan Diktynnaion represented a sacred building whose *akroteria* took the form of a goat-hunt.

The distribution of hunted and hunting animals as dedications in sanctuaries also seems to reflect Artemis' interest in the wild. Representations of bears, an uncommon form of offering, have been found almost exclusively in sanctuaries where she was worshipped; wild boar and dogs have appeared more often in her sanctuaries than in those of other deities; and it has been seen that images and remains of goats are also quite well represented there. After the pursuit and killing of a wild animal, it would be natural for the hunter to commemorate his success and show his gratitude to the goddess of hunting by dedicating to her the image of his prey, in the same way that a winner in the Games at Olympia might dedicate a model of his chariot to the Patron of the Altis. The dedicated image could equally be a propitiation carried out in advance, an expression of hope and an acknowledgment of the worshipper's dependence on the goddess for aid. But Artemis' character as a huntress did not mean that representations of wild animals were dedicated only to her. Since hunters, especially in early times, must have depended for aid in an important sphere of activity on all the gods, during the Geometric and early Archaic periods deer-figurines, as well as scenes of the hunt, were widely distributed in their sanctuaries; although the deer of later periods, it is true, have come to light most frequently in Artemis' shrines.

At the same time, it is scarcely likely that all the representations of wild animals found in the sanctuaries of the gods were offered by those concerned with hunting. If worshippers pondered on the nature of their gods, they must have seen in them qualities such as miraculous swiftness, similar to that of the eagle or the deer, or terrifying and sometimes destructive power, inspiring panic similar to that of a human being suddenly confronted by a lion in the wild. In dedicating the images of creatures which symbolized these qualities the worshipper (like those who sacrificed horses to Poseidon, or pigs to Demeter) could have been offering to the deity an aspect of itself, and in doing so, both acknowledging and praising it. As early as the Bronze Age, this acknowledgment was expressed in representations of the goddess (or god) in such proximity to the symbolic beast that it appeared almost as a physical extension of the divine being. The separate images of animals (especially if placed in the sanctuary near an image of the deity) could be seen to carry much the same significance.

Artemis was not the only deity to be possessed either of fleetness or of force. It has been seen that deer, especially in earlier times, could be offered to many gods. Still less did Artemis (for all her power over the lion as this is expressed in literature) have a monopoly of lion-representations in her sanctuaries. Lions were dedicated to most deities of either sex, and helped to decorate the temples of several. But especially, the lion was a servant and attribute of the *potnia theron*, to whom not only Artemis but most Olympian goddesses owed aspects of their character. Thus, like the deer, it was prominent in the seventh century architectural sculptures at Prinias, where a *potnia theron* not known to be associated with any Olympian goddess was worshipped. Among the Olympian goddesses, Athena's and Hera's sanctuaries have

produced at least as many representations of separate lions as those of Artemis. However, the *motif* of the goddess accompanied by one or two lions is far more often associated with sanctuaries of Artemis than with those of either Hera or Athena (in which some examples were found); while the later and less common goddess with a deer is scarcely to be found in sanctuaries where Artemis was not worshipped. So it seems that although the worshipper might choose to dedicate separate representations of lions or deer (for symbolic or other motives) to almost any deity, the image of a goddess with either of these animals was by the Archaic period so closely and consciously identified with Homer's huntress and *potnia theron*, that it was chiefly dedicated to Artemis. Both the deer and the lion probably served as attributes to the goddess' cult-statue in some sanctuaries, as did the dog at Antikyra and in Damophon's Lykosoura group; and in this circumstance, any dedicated images of the same *motif* would have been not only expressions of Artemis' nature as huntress and *potnia theron*, but also reiterations of the focus of worship in that sanctuary. At the same time, in cults and sanctuaries such as Lindos and the Samian Heraion, where an early *potnia theron* had been worshipped, but which now belonged to other Olympian goddesses, separate images of wild animals continued to be dedicated.

Just as the lion had symbolic connotations of power and awesomeness, and the deer of swiftness, which may explain their presence in sanctuaries other than those of Artemis (with whom in mythology they are both most often associated), so other animals which figured either as pursuers or as quarry in the hunt could also be invested with a more than literal significance, which made them fitting associates for the gods. Bears, which seem to have been dedicated to Artemis in preference to other deities (a preponderance which is consistent with mythological associations),

were regarded by the ancients as embodiments of motherhood, and so were expressions of Artemis' interest in childbirth as well as in the wild. Thus although the images of bears which have come to light in Artemis' sanctuaries may have been dedicated by hunters, they could, alternatively, be the offerings of prospective mothers. At Brauron, where no animal bear-images have been discovered, the small girls serving as *arktoi* were temporarily dedicated to the goddess for a similar reason, that is, in order to ensure their future role as mothers of children.

Finally, it has been seen that dogs were not simply aids to hunting, but concomitants of birth and death. Judging by one of the Dedicatory Epigrams, a hunter might think it appropriate to offer his dog to a deity concerned with hunting[2]. As a divine attribute, the dog was represented with Artemis (or with Hekate), and examples of this *motif* generally come from her sanctuaries. Certainly both the images of goddess and dog, and the separate representations of dogs also found most frequently in sanctuaries of Artemis, could have been hunters' dedications, offered like the deer in propitiation or gratitude. But the dog accompanying the torch-bearing goddess on a plaque from Brauron may have been placed there as a symbol of the birth and death which is central to the Brauronian cult; and the separate dogs in marble and clay found at the same sanctuary may have expressed either a prayer for the easy birth attributed to bitches, or the piety of a family bereaved by the death of a woman in childbirth. Possibly such a symbolic intention lay behind the Archaic marble dog from the Acropolis of Athens, which may have been one of a pair either guarding the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, or grouped as heraldic attributes of her statue. But Artemis was not the only goddess to be concerned with childbirth; and the dog-representations found in sanctuaries of Hera and Athena (both of whom could be invoked as

kourotrophoi) and at Olympia, where Eileithyia and Sosipolis (whose death soon followed his birth) had their cult, may also have been dedicated in acknowledgment of the deity's power over birth and death.

(v) Animal representations and death

The dog was thus a death-symbol as well as an instrument of hunting, an attribute of Hekate as well as Artemis. Among the wild animals it was the lion which appeared in funerary contexts as a grave-marker or memorial; and which as an attribute of the *potnia theron* symbolized not only her dominion over the fiercer side of nature but also, it has been suggested, her power over death. In fact some animals,associated with different spheres of human activity and concern,may at the same time be regarded as an emblem of the fate awaiting all mortals,over which (as over every human concern) the gods exercised their power. The horse, which seems to figure as a sign of worldly success, was also a funerary animal. As a creature of speed and courage, sometimes unruly, it embodied the water over which Poseidon ruled; but as a companion of dead heroes it also expressed an aspect of Demeter, goddess of the underworld. It has been seen, too, that the serpent which lived in the earth was not only a fertility-symbol, but an emblem of death or even of the dead themselves. In this it resembles the Gorgon, the divine or monstrous being with whom it was physically linked, whose mere gaze was able to turn the living to stone. The serpents clasping the waist of the Gorgon on Artemis' Corcyra temple no doubt reminded those who saw them of her deadly power, as did the snake-haired Gorgoneion on Athena's shield or *aegis*. So that when worshippers dedicated the image of a horse, snake or dog, they may have hoped to obtain victory, wealth, fertility or success in hunting; but if they were also aware of the chthonian associations of

the animals which they offered, they might have hoped that by acknowledging the deity's power over death, he or she might avert their fate from them for a little longer. Since most if not all deities were on occasion concerned with death, it is only to be expected that representations of an animal which was linked with it symbolically should be offered to deities other than the one with which on a literal plane it was chiefly associated.

Sphinxes, griffins and sirens came to be a decorative convention in sanctuaries; but literature and funerary monuments both indicate that these unnatural or supernatural beasts, too, were associated (and more exclusively than the real animals just referred to) with death in its most fearful aspect - the cruel face of nature presided over by the gods. They too could be depicted as companions of the *potnia theron*, and have been interpreted as symbols of her deadly power. Their appearance on sacred buildings and on Archaic bronze cauldrons (conventional though this became) must also have borne witness to the terror which might be unleashed against men by any deity. Thus they were not dedicated to one god more than to another; although their greater presence in female sanctuaries may reflect their role as attributes of the dominant female deity of earlier times. But whoever the deity in question, the sculptor who embellished a temple with sphinxes was not only giving symbolic protection to the sacred building, but presenting to the worshipper who approached it a more complete impression of its patron. It is also conceivable that those who dedicated statues or figurines representing any of these imaginary monsters to a god or goddess,was paying tribute to (and in so doing, propitiating) the darker side of his or her nature.

(vi) Animals and appropriateness of dedication

The animal-representations dedicated to the gods were thus not mere ornaments, devoid of religious significance. In different ways they expressed men's preoccupations about their lives, and a belief that the gods had power over their world, and ability and will to confer or withhold good in their most vital concerns.

The conventions which assigned different roles, and bestowed individual characters on a number of prominent deities developed gradually. It is evident that in practice neither characters nor roles were always consistently divided; and that the patron of a shrine presided over all aspects of the lives of local people, whether it was war, hunting, the production of animals and crops, the birth of children or the fear of death. Thus a particular species of animal, which might symbolize divine influence over one or more of these concerns, could itself be dedicated to more than one deity. Nevertheless, the gods did acquire individual characters and spheres of influence, and during the Archaic period, especially, the distinctions between them (though never quite complete) became more clearly marked. One of the most striking manifestations of this division of roles is Artemis' identification with the *potnia theron*, a type of goddess who had been worshipped in prehistoric times, and whose enduring traits were at first by no means confined to Artemis, as the dedications made (for example) to Athena at Tegea and Lindos, or Hera at Perachora and Samos, clearly demonstrate.

The stories which were told about the gods, and their dealings with men and with animals, both gave expression to their acquired individuality, and promoted it. Sacrificial practice, too (for instance the throwing of pigs into the earth for Demeter, or the burning of wild animals for Artemis Laphria), reflected, and at the same time emphasized the

demarcation of roles. I believe, moreover, that the dedicator's choice of animal-image as a votive offering (either as an object in itself, or as decoration for another object) was also at times connected with the individual character, the identity, of the deity. Even when a choice was not consciously made by the worshipper himself, the kinds of animal-representation most easily available at or near the sanctuary in question probably reflected beliefs as to what was appropriate in the appearance of offerings made to its deity. This is not to say that an object of beauty or value was not regarded as acceptable to the god of any sanctuary, irrespective of its shape or decoration; or that a worshipper of limited means might not offer anything he had at his disposal with similar latitude. But there was an area of choice in which appropriateness was a factor; and it is therefore in my opinion more than coincidence that certain types of animal have been discovered more frequently in the sanctuaries of some deities than in those of others. Even if this sense of appropriateness is not manifested in a total distinction of animal-types according to the identity of the god, it is often to be discerned in emphasis.

The theory (advanced by Rouse) that the circumstances of the dedicator, rather than the identity of the deity, dictated his choice of votive offering, is not inconsistent with many of the artefacts discovered in sanctuaries through excavation. But I hope that in arriving at the conclusions about animal-representations outlined here, this thesis has demonstrated that Rouse's theory requires modification. Archaeological evidence which has come to light since his work[3] has been of importance in the re-examination of the topic; and it is to be expected that future finds will increase the body of relevant material, and advance further the understanding of dedicatory practice.

Footnotes

1. See Appendix 8.2(ii). Hawks grasping their victims were discovered at Ephesos, Lindos, the Acropolis of Athens, Perachora, the Argive Heraion, Samos and Dodona.

2. *API* VI. 176 and 175. Pan was the recipient of such offerings. Alternatively, instead of the dog, a hunter might dedicate its collar (*Ibid*. 34 and 107).

3. Rouse's book was published before the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, where the nature of the votive offerings, in particular the representations of *potniai theron* and of animals, is an especially strong argument in favour of appropriacy. (See M.S. Thompson. "The Asiatic or winged Artemis". *JHS* 29 (1901), especially p. 296).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Sanctuaries of Artemis

(a) Sanctuaries or temples which have produced animal representations

Artemis Orthia, Sparta.
Artemision of Ephesos.
Artemision of Delos.
Artemis Locheia, Delos.
Delion of Paros.
Artemis Hemerasia, Lousoi.
Artemis Laphria, Kalydon.
Artemis Polo, Thasos.
Brauron.
Artemis Brauronia, Athens.
Mounychia.
Artemis Knakeatis, Tegea.
Altar of Artemis, Olympia.
Artemis Limnatis, Kombothreka.
Temple of Artemis in the Asklepieion of Epidaurus.
Kanoni Deposit, Corcyra.
Artemis Mesopolitis, Orchomenos.
Artemis Orthasia, Mt. Kotilon.
Artemis Orthia, Mt. Lykone.
Artemis Limnatis, Laconia/Messenia.
Sanctuary of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, Kirrha.
Artemis Eileithyia, Gonnos.
Diktynnaion of Crete.
Artemis Tauropolos, Ikaria (Nas).
Artemision of Samos.
Temple of Artemis in the sanctuary of Apollo at Cyrene.
Sanctuary of Apollo (and Artemis) at Claros.
Artemis Astias, Iasus (Caria).
Artemision at Scala Greca, Sicily.
Artemis Tauropolos, Aricia.
Kalapodi (? Artemis Elaphebolia).
Pherai (? Artemis Pheraia).
Kambouli Deposit (? Artemis Ephesia, Skillous).
Ortygia, Syracuse (? Artemision/Apollonion).

(b) Sanctuaries or temples from which no animal representations have been reported

Artemis Kalliste, Athens.

Artemis Aristoboule, Athens.

Artemis Propylaia, Eleusis.

Artemis Tauropolos, Halai Araphenides.

Aulis.

Artemis Agrotera, Mavrovouni (Boeotia).

Artemision at Agios Theodoros, Corcyra.

? Artemis Diktynnaia, Antikyra.

? Artemis Iphigeneia, Aigeira.

? Artemis Limnaia, Sikyon.

, Artemis Phosphora/Orthia, Messene.

Artemis Laphria, Messene.

? Artemis Olympia, Eretria.

Artemis Prosoeia, N. Euboia.

? Artemis Amarynthia/Amarousia, Euboia.

Artemis Iolkia, Demetrias.

Artemis ? Cybele, Sardis (Lydia).

Artemis Leukophryene, Magnesia (Ionia).

Letoon of Xanthos (Lycia).

Termessus (Pisidia).

Alabanda (Caria).

Amyzon (Caria).

APPENDIX 2: Sanctuaries of Apollo

Delphi.
Apollo Epikourios, Bassai.
Apollo Maleatas, Epidaurus.
Ptoion.
Amyclaion.
Apollo Tyritos, Kynouria.
Apollo Korinthos, Koroni.
Halieis.
Corinth.
Thermon.
Kirrha.
Apollo Daphnephoros, Eretria.
Delos.
Kalymnos.
Kato Phana, Chios.
Dreros.
Cyrene.
Naukratis.

APPENDIX 3: Sanctuaries of Athena

Lindos.

Acropolis of Athens.

Athena Pronaia, Delphi.

Athena Alea, Tegea.

Sounion.

Athena Chalkioikos, Sparta.

Athena Itonia, Philia.

Halai.

Athena Craneia, Elateia.

Athena Soteira, Asea.

Athena Poliouchos, Thasos.

Emporio, Chios.

Gortyn, Crete.

APPENDIX 4: Sanctuaries of Hera

Hera Akraia/Limenia, Perachora.

Samos.

Argive Heraion.

Tiryns.

Heraion of Delos.

APPENDIX 5: Sanctuaries of Demeter

Acrocorinth.

Eleusis.

Eleusinion of Athens.

Tegea.

Souvala, Phokis.

Naxos.

Kos.

Cnidus.

Halicarnassus.

Knossos.

Cyrene.

APPENDIX 6: Sanctuaries of Zeus

Olympia.

Dodona.

Nemea.

APPENDIX 7: Sanctuaries of Poseidon

Isthmia.

Sounion.

Kalauria.

Tinos.

Penteskouphia, Corinth.

(Asea).

(Acropolis of Athens).

APPENDIX 8: Animal-representations, and the remains of animals, discovered in sanctuaries

1. Bears

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 bear [*AO* p. 158. Fig. 13].
Limestone plaque	*c* 600 BC	1 with rough relief, "possibly a bear" [*Ibid*. p. 193. no. 58].
Ivory	Archaic	1 couchant bear [p. 232. Pl. 153].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	Archaic or E. classical	Bears, undescribed, unenumerated [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810].
• Claros		
Marble relief		1 goddess with a bear [*Öjh* 15 (1912) p. 57. Fig. 26].
• Lousoi		
Teeth		Bears' teeth "in numbers" [*Öjh* 4 (1901) p. 37].
• Acropolis of Athens		
Marble	4th c BC	1 statuette of bear [*AntK* 20 (1977) p. 94. Pl. 21.6 & 7].
(North slope)		
Terracotta	Roman	1 back and hindquarters of a bear [*Hesperia* 4 (1935). p. 212. Fig. 15g].
• Tegea		
Bronze	7th c BC	1 bearheaded human figure [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 356. no. 55. Fig. 17].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Undated	1 bear's head [Waldstein. II. p. 41].

2. Birds

(i) Water-birds, with long necks or legs

- Artemis Orthia

Bronze	Geometric	4 birds (with long necks) [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 76.c,e,g & p].
Bronze mirrors (miniature)	Geometric	At least 2 surmounted by water-birds (Pl. 80.h & n].
Terracotta plastic vases	7th c BC	Fragment of 2 swan-shaped vases [p. 88].
Ivory couchant animal base *intagli*	8th or 7th c BC	2 with water-birds [p. 234. Pl. 156.1 & 5].
Ivory couchant animal base reliefs	8th or 7th c BC	1 with duck or goose [Pl. 158.4]; 1 with heraldic pair of long-necked birds [Pl. 159.2].
Bone "Orthia" protome	8th c BC	1 with pelican *intaglio* on reverse [p. 219. Pl. 121.1d].
Bone cut-out plaques	6th c BC and later	21 birds with long necks and long bills, bent to chest [p. 216. Pl. 113].
Bone plaque	L 7th c BC	A water-bird appears with the left-hand horse on a two-piece plaque [p. 215. Pl. 112.1].
Silver	L 7th c BC	1 small duck [p. 388. Pl. 203.5].

- Ephesos

Limestone reliefs	L Classical	Swans (? on altar blocks) [*AA* 83 (1968) pp. 410-12].
Ivory	Archaic	3 ducks' heads [Hogarth. p. 165. Pl. 25.7, 10, 11].

- Lousoi

Bronze	8th c BC	1 water-bird [Sinn. pp. 28-30. Figs 4 & 5].

- Kalydon

Bronze relief	Archaic	1 swan (chest-attachment) [Dyggve. p. 345. Fig. 315].

- Thasos

Terracotta antefixes	Archaic	2 heraldic ducks [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 814; *Guide de Thasos*. p. 100. Fig. 46]. More duck antefixes [*BCH* 105 (1981) p. 942. Fig. 29].

- Knakeatis

Bronze	Geometric	At least 2 long-necked birds (one double-headed) [*AE* 1952. pp. 26-7. Fig. 20.B & Z].

• Mounychia		
Seal		1 with goose (and goat) [*PAE* 1935 p. 192].
• Delos (Artemision)		
Bronze	Mycenean	1 small duck [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) p. 230. no. 77. Pl. 40.2] 1 miniature bird ("vraisemblablement un oiseau d'eau") [*Ibid.* no. 78. Fig. 26].
Gold	Mycenean	5 duck's head pendants [*Ibid.* p. 210. Pl. 37.2].
Terracotta	Geometric	1 ? swan [*Delos*. XXIII. no. 28].
• Cyrene		
Bronze *patera*-handle	? 5th c BC	1 swan's head [*Afrlt.* IV.10 (1931) p. 214. Fig. 40].
• Pherai		
Bronze	Geometric/ E. Archaic	"Geese", unenumerated [*BCH* 47 (1923) p.-524]. (Bequignon describes most Pherai bronze birds as "ducks" [Bequignon. p. 68]; about 100 pendants listed by Kilian (including 12 "ducks") [Pl. 85.14-17] and 1 "water-bird" [Pl. 83.21] are of the long-necked long-billed type [Kilian. Pl. 81-85]).
• Kalapodi		
Bronze	Geometric	Over 20 birds (3 illustrated are of long-necked type) [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 57. Figs. 26-28].

• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	14 (out of 21) birds are "water-birds" [*FdD* V (1908) p. 46; *FdD* V.2.131-9; 142; 145-7].
Terracotta handle	? Classical / Hellenistic	1 swan's head [*FdD* V (1908) p. 206. no. 689. Fig. 901].
• Maleatas		
Steatite seal	Mycenean	1 with water-bird [*PAE* (1976) pp. 207-8. Pl. 143.b].
• Bassai		
Bronze	Geometric	1 schematic water-bird [*AE* (1910) p. 309. Fig. 27].

• Ptoion		
Bronze	L. Geometric	1 water-bird, and 1 claw (Ducat. p. 64. no. 41.c; p. 435. no. 319. Pl. 161].
Bronze strip	7th c BC	1 relief of swan [*BCH* 16 (1892) p. 364. Pl. 14.3].
• Lindos		
Bronze pendants	E. Archaic	5 water-birds [*Lindos*. I. 228-231; 238].
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 swan with spread wings [680].
Terracotta	Archaic 525-400 BC	1 head of water-bird [1917] 2 heads of swan, 1 head of duck [2432-4].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 swan-shaped *alabastron* [1937].
Bone spoon	Archaic	1 swan's head handle [419].
Bronze *fibulai*	E. Archaic	7 bows surmounted by water-birds [48; 54-57].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 swan and 1 stork [De Ridder. 530-531].
Bronze *hydria*-handles	Archaic	2 decorated with swans [*Ibid*. 150-1. Fig. 23].
• Athena Pronaia		
Bronze	Geometric	2 mutilated water-birds [*FdD* V (1908) p. 47; *FdD* V.2. 140-141].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	6 water-birds [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 351. nos. 30-5. Fig. 10.30 & 31; Fig. 6.32 & 33].
Terracotta		1 bird with long neck and beak [*Ibid*. p. 426. Fig. 61.362].
• Sounion		
Plastic vases	6th c BC	Ducks, unenumerated [*AE*. 1917. pp. 209-10. Fig. 20].
• Sparta (Chalkioikos)		
Terracotta	Geometric	1 small goose [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 79. Fig. 2.11].
• Philia		
Bronze figurines	Geometric	1 long-billed bird on pierced globe [*ADelt* 20 (1965) B. p. 312. Pl. 366c].

Bronze pendants	Geometric	1 double bird-protome [*ADelt* 22 (1967) B². p. 296. Pl. 194.b]. 1 pierced water-bird [*ADelt* 19 (1964) B². p. 247. Pl. 291.c].
Faience scarab	7th c BC	1 with large water-bird [*BCH* 91 (1967) p. 703. Fig. 11]. (NB. These are illustrated. There could be many more.)

- Elateia (Athena Craneia)

Bronze	? Geometric	1 duck and 1 swan [*BCH* 12 (1888) p. 48]. 2 long-necked birds [*Ibid. Loc. cit.*].

- Perachora

Bronze	Geometric	2 water-birds [*Perachora*. I. Pl. 37.1 & 3].
Plastic vases	7th & 6th c BC	2 fragmentary duck-shaped vases [*Ibid.* p. 236. Pl. 105 & 106].
Ivory/bone seals	7th c BC	6 with water-birds (1 holding worm) [*Perachora*. II. p. 413. A.25; p. 414 A.28; p. 426 A.78; p. 428 A.84; p. 432 A.113 & 116].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	2 with ducks [*Ibid.* p. 506. D.597 & 598].

- Argive Heraion

Bronze	Geometric	8 water-birds [Waldstein. II. pp. 204-5. Pl. 77.36-43].
	? Archaic	1 duck [Pl. 77.44].
Bronze	Archaic	1 head and neck of swan [p. 206. Pl. 78.50].
Sheet-bronze	Archaic.	1 head and neck of water-bird [p. 274. Pl. 108.1834].
Ivory disc	Archaic	1 with swan [p. 352. Pl. 139.13].
Paste scaraboid	Archaic	1 with duck [p. 372. Pl. 143.34].

- Samos

Egyptian bronze		Fragments of 6 ibises [*Samos*. VIII. p. 30. Pl. 32].
Plastic vases	Archaic	3 duck or goose *aryballoi* [*AM* 58 (1933) p. 139. *Beil*. 42.11; *AM* 83 (1968) p. 282. Pl. 111.1; p. 299. Pl. 129.1].

- Knossos

Serpentine lentoid	Minoan	1 with two swans, and reeds [Coldstream. p. 125. Fig. 27.4].

• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Bronze	Archaic	Ducks, unenumerated [*Expedition* 17 (1974) 4. p. 13; *AJA* 80 (1976) p. 177].
Bronze handle	Archaic	1 water-bird's head (? swan) [*AJA* 79 (1975) p. 43. Pl. 8. Fig. 26].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 duck [Furtwängler. p. 381. no. 73].
Plastic vases	Archaic	3 duck-shaped vases [p. 383. no. 96. Pl. 108.25].
Paste	Archaic.	1 fragment of ibis [p. 388. Fig. 322].
? Stone scaraboid	*c* 1000 BC	2 birds flanking tree could be water-birds [p. 432. no. 8. Pl. 118.25].
? Engraved steatite	*c* 1000 BC	1 of the zones has ? water-bird [p. 432. no. 10. Pl. 118.27].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric Archaic	7 "geese" [*OlForsch*. XII. 931-7]. 3 long-necked birds [*Olympia*. IV. 970-72].
Bronze pendants	Geometric	2 spheres crowned by water-birds [*OlForsch*. XIII. 1264, 1267]; 1 water-bird on disc [1282]; 3 more pendant water-birds [1283-5]; 1 swimming duck [1289].
Bronze seal-ring	Hellenistic/ Roman	1 has 2 long-necked birds back to back [*Ibid*. no. 633].
• Dodona		
Bronze		1 "primitive goose" [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 21.6].
Bronze vase-handles		3 decorated with swans' heads [Pl. 47.3; Pl. 43.2 & 3].
Bronze dagger		1 ends in swan's head [*Ergon*. 1955. p. 58].
• Isthmia		
Plastic vase		1 duck [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 334. Pl. 70.d].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinax	650-500 BC	1 side depicts swan [*Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 48. no. 170].

(ii) Birds of prey

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	7th c BC	1 head of hawk [*AO* p. 158. Pl. 41.9].
Lead rings	7th & 6th cs BC	Some with displayed (? hawk-like) birds [p. 255. Fig. 118 m].
Ivory:		
Eagle-*fibulai*	8th c BC	2 eagle-*fibulai* and 1 fragment (1 double-headed, 1 single-headed) [Pl. 134.1 & 2].
Comb	6th c BC	1 with spread eagle [p. 223. Pl. 130.3].
Couchant animal base reliefs	8th or 7th c BC	At least 2 with spread eagles [p. 234. Pl. 158.1 & 2]. At least 1 with standing? bird of prey [Pl. 158.3].
Couchant animal base *intaglio*	8th or 7th c BC	At least 1 bird of prey [Pl. 156.3].
Bone:		
Orthia prot-ome *intaglio*	7th c BC	1 with spread eagle [p. 220. Pl. 121.6].
Hawk-like seal motifs:		
Four-faced ivory seals	8th & 7th cs BC	11 displayed birds [p. 228. Pl. 139.a,e & m].
Ivory disc-seal	750-650 BC	1 displayed bird [p. 230. Pl. 145.2].
Bone seals	750-650 BC	At least 19 displayed birds [pp. 229-30. Pl. 140; 144-6].
Paste	? 7th c BC	1 hawk's head [p. 385. Pl. 206.4].
• Ephesos		
Bronze	Archaic	3 hawk-figurines (one grasping a hare) [Hogarth. p. 146. Pl. 15.14-16).
Terracotta	Archaic	Fragments of 5 hawk-figurines [pp. 200-201. Figs. 39-40; p. 318].
Glazed terra-cotta	Archaic	4 hawks [p. 202. Pl. 43.1-4].
Gold	Archaic	19 or 20 hawks (and wooden cores of 2) (possibly from groups with goddess) [pp. 95-6. Pl. 4.8-12, 16, 18-20, 36; Pl. 6.62; Pl. 7.19].
Gold pendants	Archaic	3 hawk-shaped pendants [p. 106. Pl. 7].
Gold brooches	Archaic	6 hawk-shaped brooches [p. 97. Pl. 4.21-24, 27-9; Pl. 10.35, 40, 41].
Silver	Archaic	14 hawk figurines [pp. 116-17. Pl. 11.2-9].

Silver brooch	Archaic.	1 hawk-shaped brooch [p. 117. Pl. 11.10].
Ivory figurines	Archaic.	4 hawks (probably independent) [pp. 161-2. Pl. 25.3-5, 9].
Ivory relief	Archaic	1 cut-out displayed hawk [p. 167. Pl. 27.1].
Paste	Archaic.	2 hawks [Hogarth. p. 208; *AA* 87 (1972) p. 717].
• Cyrene		
Bronze	Archaic	1 hawk (legs missing) [*Afrlt* IV.10 (1931) p. 196. Fig. 22.4].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Archaic	1 bird of prey [*FdD* V.2.191].
Bronze handle-attachments		2 heads of birds of prey [*FdD* V (1908) p. 83. nos. 379-80. Figs. 285-61]. 1 displayed eagle [*Ibid.* p. 83. no. 378. Pl. 12.5].
Ivory seal	c 700 BC	1 with displayed eagle [*BCH* 62 (1938) pp. 307-8. Pl. 33.2].
• Koroni		
Bronze figurine		1 small spread eagle [*ADelt* 11 (1916) p. 93].
• Kato Phana		
Paste	Archaic	1 hawk [*BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 155. Pl. 33.6].
• Naukratis		
Paste	7th-6th cs BC	A number of hawk-figurines [*Naukratis*. I. Pl. 2.9].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	*post*-525 BC	4 birds of prey [*Lindos*. I. 2435-6].
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	About 90 hawks [1841-1855]; 4 holding small bird [1848-1851]; and 2 holding serpent [1852-3].
Paste	Archaic	55 hawks [1243-5].
Paste scarabs	Archaic	3 with hawks [1454-6].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	3 eagles [De Ridder. 538-40. Figs. 177-8].
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 with bird of prey (attacking man) [*Ibid.* 351].

• Sounion		
Paste scarab	Archaic	At least 1 with hawk [*AE*. 1917. p. 212. Fig. 21].
• Emporio		
Paste	7th or 6th c BC	1 hawk-figurine [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 241. Pl. 95.585].
• Perachora		
Bronze	Geometric	1 eagle [*Perachora*. I. p. 126. Pl. 37].
Gilt bronze ring	L. Archaic	1 with eagle on bezel [p. 179. Pl. 79.34].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 flying eagle [p. 227. no. 153. Pl. 100].
? Ivory/bone disc-seals	7th c BC	Flying birds on 15 discs may be hawks [*Perachora*. II. p. 416. A.33].
	7th c BC	12 hawk-like displayed birds, one [A.120] carrying snake [pp. 421 ff. A.51; 52; 57; 58; 62; 85; 99; 100; 106; 107; 109; 120].
Paste figurines	7th c BC	5 hawks [p. 513].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	17 with hawks [p. 506. Fig. 37; Pl. 192 (D.599-D.615)].
• Argive Heraion		
Ivory discs	Archaic	3 with eagles (2 flying, 1 with snake) [Waldstein. II. pp. 351-2. Pl. 139.3, 5 & 12].
Steatite cylinder seal		1 with frieze of eagle (lion and snake) [p. 350.59].
Paste scaraboid	Archaic	2 with hawks [p. 39. Pl. 143.20-21].
• Samos		
Egyptian bronze		1 hawk [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 293. Pl. 125.1].
Bronze sheet	Archaic	1 fragmentary relief of hawk [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 134. Pl. 18.5].
Bronze ring		1 with hawk's head [*Ibid*. p. 133. Pl. 18.1-2].
Bronze votive shield		1 engraved with flying eagle [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 32. *Beil*. 74.3].
Cypriot lime-stone	645-550 BC	13 hawks (including 1 feeding young [no. 81], 1 eating snake [no. 80], 1 eating small bird [no. 79]) [*Samos*. VII. p. 64. Pl. 112-114].
Ivory comb	Archaic	1 with frieze of eagle (and lion) [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 34. *Beil*. 86.1].
Paste figurine	Late 7th c BC	1 headless hawk [*Ibid*. p. 33. *Beil*. 83.1].

• Athens Eleusinion		
Marble		1 eagle dedicated to the goddesses [*Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 208. Fig. 6].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Bronze	Archaic	Hawks, unenumerated [*Expedition* 17 (1974) no. 4. p. 13; *AJA* 80 (1976) p. 177. Pl. 29. Fig. 42].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Archaic	1 eagle and 1 eagle's head [*Olympia* IV. 974-5].
Bronze relief	Orientalizing	3 eagles on 1 zone of *thymiaterion* base [*Ibid*. 696].
• Dodona		
Bronze medallion		1 with eagle holding snake [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 21.3].
• Nemea		
Iron finger-ring		Eagle in *intaglio* on camelian bezel of 1 ring [*Hesperia* 46 (1977) p. 16. Pl. 9d].
• Sounion (Poseidon)		
Paste amulets	Archaic	1 hawk and 1 hawk holding Egyptian deity [*AE* 1917 p. 195. Fig. 9].
Paste scarabs	Archaic	Some with hawks, unenumerated [*PAE* 1907 p. 103. no. 1; *AE* 1917 pp. 195-6. Fig. 8].

(iii) Cocks and hens

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 pendant cock [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 76.k].
Lead I-V	700-425 BC	Cocks unenumerated [p. 262. Pl. 184; p. 269. Pl. 189.20-21; p. 276. Pl. 194. 13-19; p. 278. Pl. 199.17-18].
Ivory couchant animal base	8th or 7th c BC	1 cock [Pl. 154.3].
• Kalydon		
Bronze	Geometric	1 cock [Dyvggve. p. 344. Fig. 313].
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 cock (chest attachment) [*Ibid*. p. 345. Fig. 315].

• Lousoi		
Bronze sheet	6th c BC	1 cock [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 49. Fig. 65].
• Kalapodi		
Terracotta	5th c BC	1 large cock [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 89. Fig. 77].
• Pherai		
Bronze	Archaic	At least 32 cocks or hens [*BCH* 47 (1923) p. 524; Bequignon. p. 68. Pl. 19.11; Kilian. p. 184. Pl. 86.2-13; 85.13-14; 84.22].
• Ptoion		
Bronze strips	7th c BC	2: 1 with cock (and swan); 1 (between 2 griffins) [*BCH* 16 (1892) p. 364. Pl. 14.2 & 3].
• Kato Phana		
Bronze	E. 6th c. BC	1 cock [*BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 148. Pl. 32.28].
• Lindos		
Bronze	8th c BC	3 pendant cocks [*Lindos*. I. 235-7].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	3 cocks/hens [De Ridder. 535-7. Fig. 176].
Bronze cut-out appliqués	Archaic	3 cocks [*Ibid*. 378-80. Figs. 77-78.
Terracotta		1 chicken's head (from North slope) [*Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 196. Fig. 5f].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	7 cocks [*BCH* 45 (1921) pp. 349-50. Figs. 6.23; 10.24 & 26].
• Sparta (Chalkioikos)		
Terracotta		2 sitting hens [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 79. Fig. 2.12].
• Emporio		
Plastic vase	6th c BC	1 cock's head (part of vase) [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 199. Fig. 132. Pl. 181.112].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta		1 cock [*ASAtene* 33-4 [1955-6) Fig. 32b. p. 237].

• Asea		
Sheet bronze	7th c BC	4 cocks [*AE* 1957 p. 148. Figs. 38-41].
• Perachora		
Bronze	E. Classical	1 cock (? from mirror) [*Perachora*. I. p. 138. Pl. 44.7].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 cock [p. 228. no. 161].
Terracotta reliefs	L. Archaic	8 cocks [p. 234. Pl. 101.195].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Geometric/ Archaic	3 cocks (Waldstein. II. pp. 205-6. Pl. 77.46-48].
Terracotta	Archaic or Classical	2 cocks [p. 41. Pl. 48.23; Fig. 76].
• Acrocorinth		
Terracotta		Cocks, unenumerated [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 18].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Bronze	Archaic	Cocks and hens, unenumerated (at least 3) [*Expedition* 17 (1974) no. 4. p. 13; *AJA* 79 (1975) p. 40. Pl. 5. Fig. 17; p. 41].
• Aphaia		
Bronze	Undated	1 cock [Furtwängler. p. 390. no. 3. Pl. 113.1].
Terracotta	Mycenean Archaic	1 fragmentary cock [p. 374. no. 12]. 2 cocks and 1 fragmentary hen with chickens [p. 380. nos. 70-71. Pl. 111.19-21].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric Geometric Archaic	2 cocks [*OlForsch* XII. 943-4]. 1 pendant cock [*OlForsch* XIII. 1287]. 1 "hen-type" bird [*Olympia* IV. 973].
Cut-out bronze	Archaic	Fragments of 2 cocks [*Ibid.* 725 & 729].
Bronze *fibula*	É. Hellenistic or earlier	1 cock surmounting bow [*OlForsch* XIII. 1136].
Bronze ring	Hellenistic	1 with heraldic cocks on bezel [*Ibid.* 632].
Silver ring	Classical	1 with heraldic cocks on bezel [*Ibid.* 575].
(Pediment sculpture	6th c BC	Cock(s) on Treasury of Cyrenians [*Olympia* III. pp. 21-22. Figs. 19 & 20].)

Clay loomweight		1 stamped with cock [*Olympia*. IV. 1331].
• Dodona		
Bronze	?*c* 500 BC	1 small cock (from mirror or vase) [*PAE* (1929) p. 116. Fig. 7].

• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	2 sides depicting cock [*Beschreibung*. 925-6].

(iv) Other, or indeterminate birds

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	Geometric	5 indeterminate birds [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 76.a,b,h,l & n].
Terracotta	7th c or 6th c BC	5 birds, including 1 dove [p. 157. Pl. 41.8].
Limestone	*c* 600 BC	1 incized bird, with ring in beak [p. 193. Pl. 71].
Ivory:		
4-faced seals	740-600 BC	9 birds, 4 standing [p. 228. Pl. 139.c & p]; 5 looking back [unillustrated].
Disc-seal	750-650 BC	1 ? standing bird [p. 230].
Couchant-animal bases	8th c or 7th c	11 birds (standing and displayed) in *intaglio* [p. 234]; 2 standing birds in relief [p. 234].
(Ivory comb	6th c BC	1 small standing bird with two fighting men [p. 220. Pl. 130.2].)
Bone:		
Orthia protomes (on reverse)	*c* 700 BC	1 with standing bird, and 1 with bird (and sphinx) in *intaglio* [p. 220].
Disc-seal	750-650 BC	4 indeterminate standing birds [p. 230. Pl. 144].
? Bone figurine	7th c BC	1 ? feather [p. 242. Pl. 172.4].
Stone scaraboid	8th c BC	1 displayed bird [p. 379. Pl. 144b].
• Ephesos		
Terracotta	550-350 BC	1 ? dove [Hogarth. p. 317].
• Kalydon		
Terracotta		Doves, unenumerated [Dyggve. p. 345].

• Brauron		
Terracotta		5 birds (? doves) (4 large) [Museum].
Bone disc-seal		1 displayed bird [Museum].
• Lousoi		
Bronze	8th c BC	3 birds [Sinn. pp. 28-30].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	Archaic/ Classical	Birds, unenumerated [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810].
• Delos (Artemision)		
Gold	Mycenean	3 birds' wings [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) p. 211].
• Paros		
Terracotta		3 birds [Rubensohn. p. 168. nos. 103-4. Pl. 34].
Plastic vase	6th c BC	1 headless dove [*Ibid*. p. 166. no. 92. Pl. 32].
• Samos Artemision		
Plastic vase		At least 1 dove [*AAA* 13 (1980) p. 309; *cf* Higgins. I. nos. 100-101].
• Cyrene		
Terracotta		1 bird's head [*AfrIt* IV.10 (1931) p. 201].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th c - 3rd c BC	1 bird [*NSc* 1900 p. 372. Fig. 21.4].
• Pherai		
Bronze	Geometric	About 18 rather indeterminate birds (most are water-birds) [Kilian. Pl. 84.1-19]; 1 ? peacock [Pl. 86.14].
• Kalapodi		
Bronze	Geometric	17 unillustrated birds (but they may resemble the illustrated long-necked type) [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 57].
Terracotta	L. 8th c BC	2 bird-pendants (unillustrated) [*Ibid*. p. 52].

• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	4 indeterminate birds [*FdD* V.2. 141b; 148-150]; 1 cage surmounted by schematic bird [*Ibid*. 143]; 1 fragment and 2 bases of birds [151-3].
Bronze vase-handle		1 small bird perched on handle [*FdD* V (1908) p. 73. no. 286. Fig. 241].
• Bassai		
Plastic vase	? Archaic	1 bird [*AE* 1910 p. 297. Fig. 10a].
• Maleatas		
Terracotta	Archaic	Birds, unenumerated [*PAE* 1948 p. 108; *PAE* 1974 p. 100. no. 6; *Ergon* 1975 p. 107].
Marble	5th c BC	1 headless dove [*PAE* 1974 p. 99. Pl. 80c].
Bone seal	Archaic	1 with displayed bird [*PAE* 1976 p. 209. Pl. 146d].
• Amyclai		
Terracotta	Geometric	1 bird; 1 undated fragment [*AM* 52 (1927) pp. 39 & 42].
• Dreros		
Terracotta	L. Geometric	Birds, unenumerated [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 231].

• Lindos		
Terracotta	E. Archaic-400 BC	About 50 birds [*Lindos*. I. 1912-16; 1971-5; 2414-21 (pigeons); 2422; 2424; 2428-31].
Plastic vases	525-400 BC	3 or more bird-shaped vases [2423; 2425-6].
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	1 pigeon [1856].
Serpentine scaraboids	Archaic	1 with large bird (and ? worshipper); 2 with bird alone [524; 532-3].
Paste	Archaic	2 indeterminate birds [1246-7].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	L. Archaic	3 owls [De Ridder. 532-4. Figs. 173-5]; 3 crows [*Ibid*. 541-3. Figs. 179-80].
Bronze cut-out	Archaic	1 owl [*Ibid*. 381. Fig. 79].
Terracotta	Geometric ? Archaic	1 bird [*Catalogue*. II. p. 431]. 6 birds and 1 bird-pendant [*Ibid*. pp. 431-2].

Marble	E. 5th c BC	1 colossal owl, and fragment of another [Payne. Pl. 131.1-2].
? Limestone pediment	*c* 550 BC	1 owl (restored to triton pediment) [*Catalogue*. I. p. 90. no. 56].

• Athena Pronaia (Delphi)

Bronze vase-handle	Archaic	1 owl on handle [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 87-8. no. 393. Fig. 292.a].
Bronze	Geometric	1 cage with bird missing [*FdD* V.2. 144].
Terracotta	Archaic	Fragment of 1 ? pigeon [*FdD* II.5. p. 104. Fig. 115].

• Tegea

Bronze	Geometric	4 indeterminate birds [*BCH* 45 (1921) pp. 350-1. nos. 36-39].
Bronze handles	Geometric	2 handles decorated with birds [pp. 366-7. nos. 66 & 71. Figs. 17 & 40].
Bronze pendant	Geometric.	1 pendant consisting of 4 birds fixed to a ring [p. 393. no. 201. Fig. 20].
Bronze weight with crescent		2, ending in schematic birds' heads [pp. 372 & 374. Figs. 20.104; 33.105].
Terracotta	? Archaic	1 dove [p. 426. Fig. 59.361].
Ivory disc	Archaic	1 with flying bird [p. 432. Fig. 66.386].
Bone disc	Archaic	2 (or 3) with flying bird [p. 431. Fig. 66.381-2 & ?384].

• Sparta (Chalkioikos)

Bronze	Geometric	6 dove-like birds [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 150; *BSA* 14 (1907-8) p. 247; *BSA* 26 (1924-5) p. 274. Fig. 5.11; *BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 91. Fig. 4.21].
	Undated	1 owl [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 150].
Terracotta	Geometric	2 birds [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 79. Fig. 2.9 & 10].
Plastic vase		1 bird's head (from vase) [*Ibid. Loc. cit.*].

• Philia

Bronze	Geometric	Birds, unenumerated, unillustrated [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 137]. 1 indeterminate bird on stand [*ADelt* 20 (1965) B[1] p. 312. Fig. 366.c].

• Halai

Bronze	Geometric	1 conventionalized bird attached to disc [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 422. Fig. 62.9].
Terracotta		2 birds [*Ibid*. p. 475. Fig. 186.2 & 3].

• Elateia

Bronze	Geometric	1 bird's head on disc [*BCH* 11 (1888) p. 48].

Terracotta		4 doves, and 1 bird's claw [*BCH* 10 (1887) pp. 443-4].
• Emporio		
Plastic vase	L 6th c BC	1 dove [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 199. Pl. 80.111].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta	Undated	2 owls [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 235. Fig. 29a].
Plastic vase	Undated	1 owl [*Ibid.* Fig. 29b].
• Asea		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 woodcock-like bird, surmounting rosette [*AE* 1957 p. 149. Fig. 43].

• Perachora		
Bronze	Geometric	2 unillustrated birds [*Perachora*. I. p. 126].
	7th c BC	1 life-sized dove with holes (from statue ?) [*Ibid.* p. 133. Pl. 41].
Terracotta	Archaic-? Hellenistic	4 ? pigeons [p. 227. nos. 154-7. Pl. 100].
Gilt bronze ring	c 500 BC	1 with ? "pigeon" on bezel [p. 179. Pl. 79.32].
Lead rings	7th c BC	2 with displayed bird [p. 187. Pl. 85.21 & 23].
Ivory/bone seals	7th c BC	1 owl [*Perachora*. II. A.83]; 2 other birds [*Ibid.* p. 423 A.59; p. 426 A.74].
Engraved stones	Archaic	1 with standing bird (and snake) [p. 453 B.9]: 1 ? peacock (with worm) [*Loc. cit.* B19].
Paste scarab	750-600 BC	1 with "indeterminate" bird [p. 506 D.616].
• Samos		
Bronze	Geometric	1 bird on horse's back [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 16. *Beil.* 27.1]: 1 bird-pendant (from Caucasus) [*Samos.* VIII. Pl. 84.762].
Terracotta	Archaic	10 birds reported [*AM* 65 (1940) p. 90. note 1. Pl. 62.318 & 372; *Samos.* VII. p. 45. Pl. 89].

Gold	Archaic	1 small owl [Walter. p. 68. Fig. 62].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Geometric	1 ? peacock [Waldstein. II. p. 205. Pl. 77.45]. 1 indeterminate bird [p. 244. Pl. 87.881].
	Geometric/ Archaic	1 tail and 1 feather of birds [p. 206. Pl. 77.49 & 51].
Bronze *fibula*	? Geometric	1 bow, surmounted by bird [p. 244. Pl. 87.881].
Terracotta		1 small dove, with young [p. 41. Pl. 48.9].
Ivory discs	Archaic	4 with flying birds [p. 351. Pl. 139.11, 14, 15 & 17].
Ivory cubical beads	Archaic	1 with two flying birds, 1 with bird (and griffin) [p. 352. Pl. 140.27-8].
Engraved steatite	? Sub-Mycenean	1 with birds (and human figures); 2 with flying birds [pp. 347-9. Pl. 138.22, 34 & 38].
Marble	Undated	1 peacock's tail [Waldstein. I. p. 24].
Terracotta antefix	Undated	Part of large antefix painted like a peacock's tail [Frazer. Vol. III. p. 185; Leake. *Peloponnesiaca*. p. 61].
• Tiryns		
Terracotta		6 birds [Frickenhaus. p. 85].

• Eleusis		
Terracotta		Birds (? doves) [Museum].
• Knossos		
Terracotta	? 6th c BC	1 (or 2) handmade displayed birds [Coldstream. pp. 90-1. Pl. 65.264-5].
Bone *fibula*-decoration		1 bird with 2 young on back; and 3 parts of similar [p. 169. Pl. 98.304].
Serpentine pendant	Minoan	1 dove [p. 163. Pl. 65.260].
• Acrocorinth		
Terracotta		Doves [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 18].
• Souvala		
Terracotta		3 birds recorded [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B². p. 387].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Marble statue		1 large bird [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 172].

• Aphaia		
Bronze relief	6th c BC	1 fragment of bird-engraving [Furtwängler. Pl. 114.4. no. 38].
Terracotta	Archaic	5 doves, and fragments of 5 others [pp. 380-1. Pl. 111.20]. Tail of 1 very large bird [p. 381. no. 80].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 dove [p. 381. Fig. 312].
Engraved stones	c 1000 BC	1 with two birds flanking tree [p. 432. Pl. 118.25]. 1 with bird (man in separate zone) [Pl. 118.27].
Faience	Archaic	1 standing dove [p. 388].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	7 birds or bird-stands [*OlForsch* XII. 938-42; 945-6]. 1 small bird standing on horse [*Ibid.* 947].
Bronze pendant	Geometric	1 indeterminate bird [*OlForsch* XIII. 1288].
Bronze tripod attachment	Geometric	At least 2 birds (on handle) [*OlForsch* X. 139-40].
Bronze tripod-leg relief	Geometric	At least 1 zone with standing bird [*OlForsch* III. Pl. 92(2)].
Bronze pin-heads	Archaic	2 birds [*OlForsch* XIII. 263-4].
Silver plaque	5th c BC	Owls on the frieze of 1 plaque [*Olympia*. IV. 710].
• Nemea		
Bronze ring		1 with *intaglio* of dove [*Hesperia* 52 (1983) p. 78. Pl. 21.a].
• Dodona		
Bronze		1 flying dove [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 21.5].
Bronze pin		1 surmounted by flying dove [*Ibid.* Pl. 51.10].
• Isthmia		
Terracotta		Birds [Museum].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	7 fragments of sides with bird alone [*Beschreibung*. 758-60; 930; *Jdl* 12 (1897) pp. 41-48. nos. 92, 165 & 169].

(v) Potnia Theron with birds

• Artemis Orthia		
Silver	*c* 600 BC	1 small plaque with enthroned goddess flanked by long-necked birds [*AO* p. 384. Pl. 203.3].
Ivory plaques	8th c BC	2 with winged goddess holding two hawks by the neck [p. 205. Pl. 91.1 & 2]. 1 with winged goddess holding one hawk by the neck (and one lion by hind-legs) [p. 206. Pl. 92.2]. 1 with winged goddess holding snake and bird (? of prey) in right hand [p. 207. Pl. 93.2].
	7th c BC	2 with unwinged goddess flanked by two hawks, and holding two water-birds by the neck [p. 208. Pl. 98.1 & 2]. 1 with winged goddess holding water-bird by the neck (one hand missing) [pp. 208.9. Pl. 98.3].
Bone seal	8th or 7th c BC	1 with goddess holding two swans by the neck [p. 230].
Lead plaque II	L. 7th c BC	1 with goddess holding two water-birds [p. 267. Fig. 126.b. Pl. 185.29].
• Ephesos		
Gold	Archaic	19 or 20 hawks, "all or some" of which may have been held by goddess statuettes [Hogarth. pp. 95-6. Pl. 4.8-12, 16, 18-20, 36; Pl. 6.62; Pl. 7.19].
Silver	Archaic	1 hawk grasped by human hand, "doubtless from a statuette of the goddess" [p. 116. Pl. 11.1].
Ivory	Archaic	1 unwinged female, holding a hawk in each hand, at her waist [p. 157. Pl. 24.8]. 1 unwinged female, with round sinking in crown of head, corresponding with diameter of a tall ivory pole surmounted by a hawk [p. 156-7. Pl. 22].
Ivory (or wood)	Archaic	4 similar hawks, 2 certainly, and 2 probably from similar poles (and therefore from similar statuettes) [p. 161. Pl. 25.1, 2, 6, 8].
Ivory seal	Archaic	1 with winged female, flanked by snake and water-bird [p. 168. Pl. 27.6].
• Kanoni (Corcyra)		
Terracotta	E. 5th c BC	2 goddesses (with bow) holding goose-like bird [*BCH* 13 (1891) p. 39. Fig. 6].

• Lindos		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 small solid plaque stamped with winged goddess holding two birds of prey by the neck [*Lindos*. I. 472].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 handmade female with water-bird painted on trunk [1860].
(Terracotta	525-400 BC	1 female holding swan [2261].)
• Acropolis		
Terracotta plaques	L 6th & E 5th cs BC	Fragments of 45 representations of Athena in a chariot with an owl above it. [*Catalogue*. II. pp. 414-417. no. 1333; *JHS* 17 (1897) p. 313. Fig. 4. Pl. 8.1].
Marble reliefs	4th c BC	1 fragmentary relief of worshippers before a colossal hand with an owl on it [*Catalogue*. II. p. 272. no. 3030]. 1 relief of Athena enthroned, with eagle on knee [*Concise Guide*. p. 58. no. 1330].
Limestone pediment	*c* 550 BC	1 owl restored to pediment as companion of the goddess [*Catalogue*. I. p. 90. no. 56].
• Tegea		
Bronze *fibula*	7th c BC	1 disc with naked female, standing on a bull, flanked by heraldic water-birds [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 385. Fig. 45.154].
•(Elateia		
Terracotta	Undated	3 females carrying a swan, and 2 carrying duck or water-bird [*BCH* 10 (1887) pp. 427-8].)
• Gortyn		
Terracotta plaques	Archaic	1 with skirted goddess between two large birds [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 261. Fig. 57d].
Terracotta	Archaic	Lower half of 1 large female figurine with two heraldic water-birds decorating one zone of skirt [*Ibid*. p. 262. Fig. 58.a].
• Perachora		
Bronze strip	6th c BC	1 with winged goddess holding two water-birds by the neck [*Perachora*. I. p. 146. Pl. 48.4 & 5].
Lead plaque	7th c BC	1 with winged goddess holding two water-birds [*Ibid*. p. 186. Pl. 85.2].
Ivory/bone seal	7th c BC	1 with unwinged goddess flanked by two birds [*Perachora*. II. p. 429. A.95. Pl. 182].

•(Samos		
? Egyptian bronze		1 female protome, collar engraved with heraldic birds (or sphinxes) [*Samos*. VIII. p. 8. Pl. 9.133].)

←

• Olympia		
Bronze shield-decoration	Archaic	1 zone has Zeus' throne decorated by a winged goddess, holding two water-birds by the neck [*OlForsch* II. p. 82. Fig. 1].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	1 side depicting a winged goddess holding one goose by the neck [*Beschreibung*. 907].

(vi) *Potnios theron* with birds

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory plaque	7th c BC	1 with winged male, holding two birds of prey by the feet [*AO* p. 209. Pl. 99.1].
Couchant animal base	8th or 7th c BC	1 relief of winged male holding two birds (of prey ?) by the neck [Pl. 99.2].
• Acropolis		
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 with winged male holding two water-birds by the neck [*JHS* 13 (1892-3) p. 259. Fig. 26].
• Nemea		
Bronze statue		Fragments of life size male statue with bird (? Zeus with eagle) [*Hesperia* 52 (1983) p. 78. Pl. 21].

(vii) Standing females with dove (or cock) as sacrifice or pet

• Kalydon		
Terracotta		Worshippers with dove. Unenumerated [Dyggve. p. 345].
• Brauron		
Marble statuette	4th c BC	1 "Arktos" with dove [Museum].
Terracotta	6th c BC	4 females with birds [*Lexlc* II "Artemis". 551; 557-559].

• Kanoni		
Terracotta	E. 5th c BC	5-10 females holding bird against breast [*BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 32 & 36. Fig. 4]. 11 females (probably not goddess) holding a cock [*Ibid*. p 40. Fig. 7].
• Samos Artemision		
Terracotta	6th c BC	Females with dove, unenumerated [*AAA* 13 (1980) pp. 308-9. Fig. 2].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th or 3rd c BC	1 female with bird [*NSc* 1900 p. 372. Fig. 23].
• Kato Phana		
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 fragmentary female holding dove [*BSA* 35 (1934-5) Pl. 33.15].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	525-400 BC	6 females with bird [*Lindos*. I. 2106; 2179-2181; 2183]. 2 females with cock [2182; 2184].
	4th c BC	1 female kissing a pigeon [3045].
• Acropolis		
Terracotta	6th c BC	4 females with bird [*Catalogue*. II. p. 370].
	5th c BC	3 females holding fruit, with two doves at feet [*Ibid*. p. 385; *AA* 8 (1893) p. 147.3. Fig. 30].
Marble statue	Mid 6th c BC	1 female ("Lyons *kore*") holding dove [Payne. Pl. 22].
• Elateia		
Terracotta		3 females holding doves, and 1 with dove on shoulder [*BCH* 11 (1887) pp. 428 & 443].
• Emporio		
Terracotta	6th c-4th c BC	2 females with birds [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 201. Pl. 81.120 & Pl. 82.139].
• Perachora		
Bronze	7th c BC	1 life-sized dove with attachment holes (held by a statue ?) [*Perachora*. I. p. 133. Pl. 41].

Terracotta and plastic vases	6th c BC	At least 4 female figurines with a bird [*Ibid.* p. 219. Pl. 115.308; 95.97]. 2 vases (and more fragments) with this shape [Pl. 112.276, 279].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	L Archaic	6 "Aphrodites" with dove [Waldstein. II. p. 34. Fig. 66. Pl. 46.9].
:Tiryns Terracotta	Archaic and later	Several females with dove [Frickenhaus. pp. 87-8. Pl. 1.8; 7.8; 8.9].
• Samos		
Terracotta	7th c BC	At least 2 females carrying birds [*AM* 65 (1940) p. 66. Pl. 44.27 & 749].
Marble statues	6th c BC	1 headless *kore* with bird (partridge) [Buschor. Figs. 357-9 & 361; Boardman. Fig. 96]. Fragments of 3 similar [Buschor. Figs. 360, 362 & 377].
• Delos Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	7 or 8 females with dove [*Delos*. XXIII. 53-59; ?52].
• Kos		
Terracotta	6th c BC	Females with bird, unenumerated [*AA* 26 (1901) pp. 135-6].
• Knossos		
Terracotta	Hellenistic	1 miniature standing girl with bird [Coldstream. p. 75. Pl. 49.121].
• Halicarnassus		
Terracotta	L 5th c BC	Females with dove [Higgins. no. 336. Pl. 52]; Newton. History II. p. 327. Pl. 97.2].
• Cyrene		
Marble statue		1 hand holding dove (large) [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 169].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Archaic	1 "Aphrodite" with dove [*Olympia*. IV. 56].
• Dodona		
Bronze		1 hand from female statuette, on which a dove is poised for flight [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 21.4].

(viii) Bones of birds; and egg-shells

•Ephesos	Bird-bones in Archaic *basis* [Hogarth. p. 35]. Remains of 1 cock and 1 hen, at altar [*Festschrift*. p. 108].
•Delos Artemision	Bones of birds beneath Archaic temple, including 1 probably from a crane [R. Vallois. *L'ARchitecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Délos*. Vol. I. p. 13].
•Cyrene (Artemis)	Shells of ostrich eggs [*AfrIt* IV.10 (1931) pp. 204 & 214].
•Thermon	Bird-bones in Megaron B [*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 248].
•Lindos	69 fragments of ostrich egg-shells [*Lindos*. I. 563].
•Emporio	Fragments of ostrich egg-shells [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 243. Pl. 97.604].
•Knossos	Fragments of 1 bird only [Coldstream. p. 178].
•Cnidus	Bones of birds recorded [Newton. *History*. II. p. 389].
•Cyrene (Demeter)	Bird-bones present, but fewer than pigs [*AJA* 85 (1981) p. 24].
•Isthmia	Bones of "fowl" [Broneer. *Isthmia*. I. p. 56].

3. Pigs and boars

(i) Pigs

• Ephesos		
Terracotta	550-350 BC	1 fragmentary pig (altar area) [*AS* 32 (1982) p. 70].
• Kalydon		
Terracotta		Pigs, unenumerated [Dyggve. p. 345].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	Archaic	Pigs, unenumerated [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810].
• Brauron		
? Terracotta		1 ? pig [Museum].
Engraved (black) stone		1 with sow suckling young [*Ergon*. 1962. p. 36. Fig. 46].
• Paros		
Terracotta		1 pig [Rubensöhn. p. 168. no. 99. Pl. 33].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th or 3rd c BC	1 pig (independent) [*NSc* 1900. p. 372].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	*post* 525 BC	24 pigs [*Lindos*. I. 2410-11].
• Acropolis		
Terracotta	? Archaic	1 pig [*Catalogue*. II. p. 431].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Archaic	1 pig [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 348. Fig. 2.21].
• Elateia		
Terracotta		Fragments of 2 pigs [*BCH* 11 (1886) p. 444].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta		1 pig [Waldstein. II. p. 41. Pl. 48.20].
• Tiryns		
Terracotta		5 piglets [Frickenhaus. p. 84].

• Acrocorinth		
Terracotta		"Many" fragmentary pigs; 1 charred (with bones) [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 10. Pl. 2.g; p. 22. Pl. 11.b].
• Eleusis		
Marble statues		2 pigs [Mylonas. Fig. 66; Museum].
• Souvala		
Bronze		Fragment of 1 ? pig [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B². p. 388].
Terracotta		3 pigs recorded [*Ibid*. p. 387].
• Cnidus		
Terracotta		1 pig [Newton. *History*. II. p. 398].
Marble statues		1-3 pigs [*Ibid*. p. 385. Pl. 58.2].
• Knossos		
Terracotta	7th or 6th c BC	1 handmade pig [Coldstream. p. 90. Pl. 65.262].
Marble		Head of 1 pig [p. 96. no. 12. Pl. 77.a].
Silver ring	5th c BC	1 with sow on bezel (inscribed to Demeter) [Pl. 83.14].
• Kos		
? Terracotta		1 undescribed (but illustrated) figurine looks like a pig [*AA* 16 (1901) p. 136. Fig. 5].
• Cyrene		
Limestone statue		1 pig [*AJA* 80 (1976). p. 172].

(ii) Boar

• Artemis Orthia		
Limestone reliefs	*c* 600 BC	2 with boar [*AO*. p. 192. Pl. 70.48].
Lead I	700-635 BC	Boar, unenumerated, rare [p. 263. Pl. 184.18].
Vitreous paste	? 7th c BC	1 small boar [p. 385].
• Ephesos		
Terracotta	550-350 BC	1 hind-part boar [Hogarth. p. 317].
Marble	Hellenistic	Part of 1 large boar's head (from *cella*) [Wood. p. 260].

? Gold plaque	Archaic	1 ? boar [Hogarth. p. 110. Pl. 8.8].
Ivory	Archaic	1 boar in relief [*Ibid*. p. 164. Pl. 26.3].
• Kalydon		
Bronze		Fragment of 1 boar [Dyggve. p. 344].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	Archaic	Boars, unenumerated [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810].
Plastic vases	Archaic	More than 1 boar-shaped [*Ibid*. p. 812].
Painted statuette-base	Archaic	Boar painted on 1 base [*BCH* 83 (1959) p. 775].
• Epidaurus (Artemis)		
Marble water-spouts	4th c BC	2 boarsheads, at SE and NE corners of temple [*PAE* 1906. p. 96. Pl. C.2 & D.1].
• ? Pherai		
Bronze *fibula*-plaque	Geometric/ E Archaic	1 plaque with (possibly) boar [Kilian. Pl. 48.1369].
• Delphi		
Bronze vase-handles	Archaic	2 boars' heads [*FdD* V (1908) p. 83. no. 377 & 377b. Fig. 284. Pl. 14.7].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 boar [De Ridder. 479. Fig. 138].
Tripod-base relief	Archaic	1 zone with wild boar [*JHS* 13 (1893) p. 244. Fig. 17].
Bronze strip	Archaic	1 with parts of boar [*Ibid*.p. 261. Fig. 27].
• Sparta (Chalkioikos)		
Bronze helmet		1 relief of boar at bay on cheek-piece [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 93. Fig. 6].
•(Tegea		
Pediment sculpture	4th c BC	The Kalydonian Boar [Dugas. *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athena*. Pl. 108.A].)
• Cnidus		
Marble		1 (-3) boar [Newton. *History*. II. p. 385. Pl. 58.3].
• Knossos		
Terracotta		2 fragments of wheel-made boar [Coldstream. p. 90. Pl. 65.257-8].

• Olympia		
Bronze	? Archaic	1 boar [*Olympia*. IV. 196].
Bronze helmet	6th c BC	1 engraving (silver-inlaid) of wild boar between 2 lions [*OlBer* VIII. pp. 127-30. Pl. 66-8].
Silver plaque	5th c BC	1 with double frieze of boar (and owl) [*Olympia*. IV. 710].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	8 sides with wild boar alone [*Beschreibung*. 740-744; 898; *Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 44. nos. 87-8]. 5 sides with boar-hunt [*Beschreibung*. 893-7].

(iii) Pig-carriers and sacrificial scenes

• Lindos		
Terracotta	Archaic-4th c BC	27 female pig-carriers [*Lindos*. I. 2088; 3030-3036].
• Tegea		
Terracotta	5th c BC	1 female pig-carrier [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 425. Fig. 52. no. 349].
• Acropolis		
Marble reliefs	Archaic/classical	At least 2 sacrificial scenes with pig. [*Catalogue*. I. no. 581; Payne. Pl. 126.1; Walter. *Beschreibung*. p. 107. nos. 230, 231].
• Elateia		
Terracotta	Undated	1 female pig-carrier [*BCH* 11 (1887) p. 422].
• Emporio		
Terracotta	L 6th c BC	1 female holding piglet [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 200. Pl. 80-114].
• Tiryns		
Terracotta	5th c BC	Over 120 female pig-carriers [Frickenhaus. pp. 77-9. Fig. 18; Pl. 7.4; 9.10-13; 11.8-12; 12.1-2].

• Acrocorinth		
Terracotta	Undated	At least 20 female pig-carriers [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 22. Pl. 11a; 41 (1972) p. 316. Pl. 62.d].
• Eleusis		
Marble statuettes	4th c BC-Roman	1 boy initiate with (missing) pig [Mylonas. Fig. 80]. Fragments of 2 similar groups [*Ibid.* p. 203; *ADelt* 8 (1923) p. 163. Fig. 6; p. 166. Fig. 9].
Marble relief	4th c BC	1 cult-scene with sacrificial pig [*ADelt* 8 (1923) p. 168. Fig. 11].
• Tegea (Demeter)		
Terracotta	Undated	Female pig-carriers, unenumerated [*GazArch* 4 (1878) p. 43].
• Halicarnassus		
Terracotta	Late 5th & 4th cs BC	6 female pig-carriers [Newton. *History*. II. p. 328. Pl. 47.4; Higgins. I. Pl. 57. no. 385; Pl. 64. nos. 454-7; Pl. 67. no. 497].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Terracotta	Archaic-Classical	Some female pig-carriers, unenumerated [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 174. Pl. 28. Fig. 30; *AJA* 85 (1981) p. 23].
(Limestone statuette	Hellenistic	1 seated female, with plate containing piglet's head [*Ibid.* p. 24].).

(iv) Potnia theron with boar

• Kanoni		
Terracotta	E 5th c BC	11 figurines, goddess with boar [*BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 40 & 66-7. Pl. 2.6; Pl. 4.1].
• ? Kalydon		
Bronze		1 fragmentary boar might be from group, with goddess [Dyggve. p. 344].

(v) Remains of pigs and boar

•Ephesos		
Bones		Pig-bones beside altar [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 280; *Festschrift*. p. 108; *AS* 32 (1982) p. 83].
•Kalydon		
Tusks		"Numerous" boars' tusks [Dyggve. p. 344].
•Lousoi		
Tusks		Tusks dedicated at Lousoi [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 37].
•Kalapodi		
Bones		Young pig-bones from Archaic ash-altar. [*AA* 95 (1980) pp. 64-5].
•Halieis		
Bones		Numerous bones of young pigs [*ADelt* 29 (1973-4) B² ; *Chr*. p. 263].
•Lindos		
Tusks	Archaic	2 pieces of tusk pierced as pendants, and 1 piece unpierced [*Lindos*. I. 206-8].
•Tegea		
Tusks		Numerous fragments of tusks [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 348. Fig. 2.21].
•Acrocorinth		
Bones		Great numbers of young pig-bones [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 10 & 12].
•Cnidus		
Bones		Bones of pigs [Newton. *History*. II. pp. 389-390].
•Knossos		
Bones	post-Geometric	*c* 800 pig-bones (90% of all bones) [Coldstream. p. 177].
•Cyrene (Demeter)		
Bones		Large quantities of pig-bones [*Expedition* 17 (1974) no. 4. p. 11; *AJA* 85 (1981) p. 24].

• Nemea	
Bones	1 jaw of wild boar [*Hesperia* 47 (1978) p. 80].
• Isthmia	
Bones	Pig-bones reported [Broneer. *Isthmia*. I. p. 56].

4. Cattle

(i) Ox-heads and cattle-protomes

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	7th c BC	1 bull's head pendant [*AO* p. 200. Pl. 89.d]
Lead I-IV	700-500 BC	Unenumerated oxhead pendants [p. 257. Pl. 180.27-8; p. 265. Pl. 186.26. p. 271. Pl. 194.25].
Ivory	740-660 BC	1 bull's head ? pendant [p. 240. Pl. 170.3].
Vitreous paste	8th or 7th c BC	1 bull's head [p. 385].
• Knakeatis		
Bronze		1 small oxhead [*AE* 1952 p. 27].
• Pherai		
Trachyte relief		1 oxhead [Bequignon. p. 74. Pl. 21.2].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Archaic	6 bull's head vases [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 77-8. nos. 327-331. Figs. 262-3; Pl. 14.2; p. 82. no. 373. Pl. 14.1].
• Halieis		
Bronze		1 small independent bull's protome [*ADelt* 29 (1973-4) B² *Chr*. p. 263].
• Ptoion		
Bronze cauldron-supports		2 bulls' protomes [Ducat. pp. 75-6. nos. 44-5. Pl. 16].
• Dreros		
Terracotta	L Geometric	Oxheads, unenumerated [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 231].
• Koroni		
Terracotta		2 oxheads [*ADelt* 11 (1916) p. 100. Fig. 49].
• Lindos		
Bronze	Archaic	At least 1 bull's protome from vase [*Lindos*. I. 704].
Cypriot terracotta	Archaic	1 handmade bull's protome [*Ibid*. 1966].

Plastic vase	525-400 BC	1 bull's head *alabastron* [2407].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	2 bulls' protomes, and fragments of 2 more [De Ridder. 520-3. Figs. 166-8].
• Tegea		
Bronze appliqué	Geometric/ Archaic	4 or 5 appliqué oxheads [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 368. nos. 75-8. Figs. 19 & 21].
Bronze crescents		3 ending in bulls' heads [*Ibid.* p. 374. Fig. 33].
Marble altar		Decorative ox-heads in relief [*Ibid.* p. 368; *PAE* 1909 p. 319. Pl. θ].
• Sparta		
Terracotta		1 cow's head [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 79. Fig. 2.6].
• Philia		
Bronze		2 oxheads [*ADelt* 20 (1965) B[1]. p. 312. Pl. 366.d].

• Perachora		
Plastic vase	6th c BC	1 bull's snout [*Perachora*. I. p. 235. Pl. 106].
Ivory/bone seals	7th c BC	2 with bulls' heads [*Perachora*. II. p. 427 A.80; p. 429 A.88].
• Samos		
Bronze *rhyta*	*c* 600 BC	1 bull's head (inscribed to Hera) [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 289. Pl. 121].
Terracotta *rhyta*	*c* 650 BC	Unenumerated bulls' heads [*AM* 66 (1941) Pl. 14.895 & 15.1147; *AM* 83 (1968) p. 289].
Bronze cauldron-attachments	Archaic	At least 11 cattle-protomes [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 31 *Beil* 71.1; *AM* 83 (1968) p. 285. Pl. 114a; Bushor. Figs. 224-5; *Samos*. VIII. Pl. 76-7; Pl. 73-4].
Bronze ladle	Archaic	1 handle ending in bull's head [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 31 *Beil*. 73.2].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 bull's protome [*AM* 76 (1961) p. 32 *Beil*. 33.2]. 1 cow-protome (from *kernos*) [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 29 *Beil*. 67].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 cow's head *lethykos* [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 299. Pl. 132.1].

•Argive Heraion		
Bronze attachments	Archaic	2 cattle protomes [Waldstein. II. p. 203. Pl. 75].
Terracotta	Archaic	3 bulls' heads (possibly from figurines) [*Ibid*. p. 41. Pl. 48.15 & 17].
•Delos Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 bull's horn [*Delos*. XXIII. 188]. 1 double bull-protome (perhaps from vase) [*Ibid*. 187].
•Cyrene (Demeter)		
Bronze	Archaic	At least 2 miniature bovine heads [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 177. Pl. 29. Fig. 43].
Terracotta	2nd or 1st c BC	1 bovine head [*AJA* 79 (1975) p. 38. Pl. 4. Fig. 11].
•Olympia		
Cauldron-attachments	Archaic	About 12 cattle-protomes [*OlForsch* VI. p. 114-116. Pl. 42-51 A.24-34].
Sheet-bronze	Archaic	2 cut-out ox-heads [*Olympia*. IV. 722-3].
•Dodona		
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 cut-out bull's head [Carapanos. p. 36. Pl. 20.6].
Glass paste		1 bull's head [*PAE* 1955 p. 170].
•Kalauria		
Terracotta	Geometric	1 small bull's head [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 317]. 1 ox-head [Ibid. Loc. Cit.]

(ii) Whole cattle

•Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	Geometric	2 couchant oxen [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 80.k].
	7th c BC	1 standing ox [p. 200. Pl. 88.l].
	5th c BC	1 bull [p. 202. Pl. 90.e].
Terracotta	740-500 BC	8 cattle [p. 157].
	425-250 BC	1 ox's leg [p. 158].
Ivory	800-600 BC	11 couchant bulls [p. 232. Pl. 153.3].
	(7th c BC	Calves are victims of most of the couchant beasts of prey [p. 233-4. Pl. 150.2].)

Bone seal	750-650 BC	1 cow suckling calf [p. 230. Pl. 147].
Glass lentoid	Mycenean	1 with *intaglio* of bull [p. 379. Pl. 204 C.2].
Lead II-IV	635-500 BC	Bulls, unenumerated [p. 269. Pl. 189.26-29; p. 277. Pl. 194.12].
• Ephesos		
Gold	Archaic	6 horns from bulls or oxen [Hogarth. p. 115. Pl. 7.51].
Terracotta		1 leg of a bull [p. 317].
Ivory figurine	Archaic	1 seated ? bull [p. 163. Pl. 26.1].
Ivory plaque	Archaic	1 bull with lotus-flower at throat [p. 195. Pl. 40.22].
Column reliefs	6th c BC	Fragments of 3 bulls [*JHS* 37 (1917) pp. 1-2. Fig. 1].
• Kalydon		
Terracotta		Oxen, unenumerated [Dyggve. p. 345].
• Delos		
(Ivory relief	Mycenean	Ox is the victim of two lions in one relief frieze [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) pp. 162-8. Fig. 6. Pl. 20.1].)
• Brauron		
Terracotta reliefs	6th c BC	2 with Artemis riding a bull [*XI International Congress*. Pl. 36.a; *Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 700-701].
• Kombothreka		
Bronze	Geometric	"Several" small bulls [*AM* 23 (1908) p. 324].
Terracotta	Geometric	6 small bulls [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 67. Pl. 9.1-6].
• Nas		
Terracotta		Fragment of a ? bull [*PAE* 1939 p. 155].
• Aricia		
Bronze		Some horns are recorded [*MA* 13 (1903) p. 327].
• Pherai		
(Marble relief (? *metope*)		Bull attacked by lion [*BCH* 48 (1924) p. 482].)
• Kalapodi		
Terracotta	Mycenean	Bull-figurines (unenumerated) 1 bull-*rhyton* [*BCH* 104 (1980) p. 625].

• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	14 bulls/bovines [*FdeD* V.2. 99-108; 110-112; 127].
	Orientalizing	3 bulls [*Ibid*. 154; 160; 163].
	Archaic	2 bulls [187-8].
	5th c BC	1 cow and 1 fragment bull [208; 242].
Bronze attachment	Archaic	1 couchant ox from crater [195].
Silver	6th c BC	Fragments of bull statuette [*BCH* Supplement 4 (1977) p. 274].
Gold plaques	Archaic	2 zones (from 2 plaques) with bull [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 97. no. 24].
Terracotta	Mycenean	Some bovines [*FdD* V (1908) p. 15].
Bronze helmet	7th c BC	Engraving of bull ridden by female [*BCH* 73 (1949) p. 424. Fig. 3].
• Apollo Maleatas		
Terracotta	Archaic	Oxen, unenumerated [*PAE* 1948 p. 108].
• Ptoion		
Bronze	Geometric & 6th c BC	2 bulls [Ducat. p. 63. no. 41.b; p. 200. no. 122. Pl. 61].
Bronze appliqué	Archaic	1 cut-out bull (relief) [p. 434. no. 318. Pl. 61].
• Naukratis		
Paste	6th c BC	Bulls, unenumerated [*Naukratis*. I. p. 14].
• Koroni		
Bronze		1 small ox [*ADelt* 11 (1916) p. 93].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 small ox [*Ibid*. p. 100. Fig. 48.3].
• Amyclai		
Bronze	Geometric	Oxen, unenumerated; 1 ox-foot [*AE* 1892 pp. 10 & 12].
• Kynouria		
Bronze	6th c BC	2 bulls (one inscribed to Apollo) [*PAE* 1911 p. 263. Fig. 6.].
• Delos (Apollo)		
Terracotta	2nd/1st c BC	Fragment of a bull's head [*Delos*. XXIII. 1319].
• Kato Phana		
Bronze	Archaic	Fragments of 2 cattle, and 1 horn [*ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 210. Fig. 31; *BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 148. Pl. 31.40; Pl. 32.30].

• Dreros		
Terracotta	L Geometric	1 ox, and fragments of others [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 232].
• Lindos		
Bronze	Archaic	1 seated, 1 standing and 1 fragmentary head of bull [*Lindos*. I. 1578-80]. 1 double-headed bull [1571].
Terracotta	Archaic/ Classical	More than 10 bulls/cattle [1867; 1897-1900; 1903; 1906; 1883; 2097; 2045-6].
Ivory relief	Archaic	1 bull [684].
Faience scarabs	Archaic	3 with cattle [1447-8].
Faience vase	Archaic	1 calf-shaped vase [1328].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	7 bulls/oxen, and 2 fragments [De Ridder. 512-9. Figs. 159-165].
Terracotta	? Archaic	2 fragments cows [*Catalogue*. II. p. 430]. A few cows from North Slope [*Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 196].
• A. Pronaia (Delphi)		
Bronze	Archaic	1 ox [*FdD* II. 5. p. 51. Fig. 59.1].
Terracotta	Mycenean	1 ? cow (or doe) [*Ibid*. p. 28. Fig. 34].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	6 couchant oxen [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 342. Fig. 2.1-6].
	Archaic	1 standing ox [p. 346. Fig. 6.7].
Bronze *fibula*-disc	7th c BC	1 naked female standing on bull [p. 385. Fig. 45].
• Sparta		
Bronze	Archaic	8 cattle [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 150; 28 (1926-7) pp. 89-90. Figs. 4.13-15; *Ibid*. p. 91. Fig. 4.20].
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 handmade bullock [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 76. Fig. 1].
	Geometric/ Archaic	"Cows" [*Ibid*. p. 80].
• Emporio		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 calf [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 28. Pl. 74.47].

• Elateia		
Bronze		1 ox's foot [*BCH* 12 (1888) p. 49].
Terracotta		3 fragments large bovine heads [*BCH* 11 (1887) p. 443].
• Asea		
Bronze	6th c BC	2 small bulls [*AE* 1957 p. 158. Fig. 55].
• Perachora		
Bronze	7th-5th cs BC	1 bull, and 4 cows/calves [*Perachora*. I. p. 136 & p. 138. Pl. 43-4].
Terracotta	Archaic-Classical/ Hellenistic	Parts of 3 bulls [*Ibid*. p. 227-8. Pl. 101. nos. 158-160].
Ivory	7th c BC	1 calf [*Perachora*. II. pp. 408-10. Pl. 174].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	31 with oxen, cows or calves [*Ibid*. p. 503 D.542-D.572. Figs. 36-7].
Rock crystal seal	7th c. BC	1 with bovoid [*Ibid*. p. 505 D.571].
(Jasper scaraboid	*c* 500 BC	Bull attacked by lion [*Ibid*. p. 454 B.22].)
• Samos		
Bronze	Mycenean Eastern	1 bull [*Samos*. VIII. Pl. 39.881]. 1 Egyptian and 1 Syrian bull [*Ibid*. Pl. 30; Pl. 68].
Bronze attachment	Archaic	1 small bull-calf [*AA* 81 (1966) p..164].
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 engraving of bull [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 136. Pl. 24.1].
Terracotta	L Geometric/ Archaic	About 50 large cattle [*AM* 65 (1940) p. 85-9. Pl. 46-51].
Cypriot limestone	645-550 BC	1 bull [*Samos*. VII. p. 66. Pl. 120].
Marble	*c* 550 BC	Fragment of cow or ox [*Samos*. XI. p. 169. Pl. 70.84].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Archaic	3 bulls/cows [Waldstein. II. p. 201-3. Pl. 75].
Engraved stones	Mycenean ?Sub-Mycen.	4 with cattle [p. 350.53-56]. 1 with bovoid [p. 348.26]. 1 carved in shape of couchant cow [p. 349.39].
? Terracotta	Archaic	3 bulls' heads could be broken from figurines [p. 41. Pl. 48.1, 5 & 17].

•Acrocorinth		
Bronze		3 bulls [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) pp. 5 & 19. Pl. 9.b; 37 (1968) p. 326. Pl. 98.a].
Carnelian scaraboïd		1 with winged bull [*Ibid*. p. 312. Pl. 88.c].
•Knossos		
Terracotta	8th & 7th cs BC	1 bull and 1 cow [Coldstream. p. 90. Pl. 65.259 & 263]. 5 fragments wheel-made bulls [pp. 89-90. Pl. 64.252-6].
Steatite lentoid	Minoan	1 with ? young bull [*Ibid*. p. 127. no. 12].
•Cnidus		
Marble		2 calves [Newton. *History*. II. p. 385. Pl. 58].
•Cyrene		
Bronze	Archaic	Miniature bulls (not enumerated) [*Expedition* 17 (1974) no. 4. p. 13].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 miniature ox [*AJA* 79 (1975) p. 40].

•Aphaia		
Terracotta	Mycenean	Over 100 fragmentary cattle [Furtwängler. p. 374. Pl. 108.14 & Pl. 109.2]. 2 riders on bulls [p. 374. nos. 16-17. Fig. 302].
	Post-Mycenean	16 fragments of cattle [p. 376. Pl. 111.16].
	Geometric	1 head of ox or cow [p. 390. Pl. 117.7].
Ivory	Archaic	1 couchant ox (pendant) [p. 432].
? Engraved steatite	Mycenean	1 ? bovoid [p. 432. no. 6. Pl. 118.24].
•Lato		
Terracotta	Archaic	A large number of terracotta oxen [*BCH* 53 (1929) p. 415. Figs. 24-26].
•Prinias		
Terracotta		1 fragment small ox [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 74].

•Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	Over 1800 cattle including fragments [*OlForsch* XII. p. 185]. (462 catalogued, *c* 66% bulls [*Ibid*. pp. 199-271 *passim*].)

	E Archaic	1 bull [*Olympia*. IV. 733].
	L Archaic	5 oxen [*Ibid*. 957-60; 962] and 1 calf [961].
	6th c BC	1 group of 4 bulls [*OlForsch* XII. 927].
Cut-out bronze	Archaic	1 bull [*Olympia*. IV. 733].
Cauldron-attachments	Orientalizing	8 whole cattle [*OlForsch* VI. pp. 153-5. Pl. 63-4].
Fibula-plaque	Geometric	1 engraved with ? ox [*Olympia*. IV. 366].
Tripod-leg	7th c BC	1 zone with bull [*ADelt* 18[1] 1963 p. 109. Pl. 145a].
Terracotta	Geometric-Archaic	Over 30 bulls/cattle [*OlForsch* VII. 3-7; 9-13; 16; 19-20; 25-37; 43-4; 46-50].
• Dodona		
Bronze	Archaic	1 bull (free standing) [Carapanos. p. 37. Pl. 20.4].
? Sheet-bronze	Geometric	1 ? bull [*Ep. Chr.* 10 (1935) p. 228.4. Pl. 19.b.21].
• Nemea		
Bronze plaque	E 5th c BC	1 with incised bull [*Hesperia* 48 (1979) p. 180. Pl. 35.c].
• Isthmia		
Bronze		5 bulls recorded [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 137. Fig. 55b,c; 28 (1959) p. 328. Pl. 68g,f; 31 (1962) p. 19. Pl. 8d].
Gold	L Archaic	1 miniature bull (from temple) [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 138. Fig. 55a].
• Sounion		
Engraved stone	Mycenean	1 with bull (? in snare) [*PAE* 1907 p. 103. no. 2; *AE* 1917 p. 196. Fig. 8].
• Kalauria		
Bronze	Archaic	1 small bull [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 309. Fig. 26].
	5th c BC	1 large bull [*Ibid*. p. 310. Fig. 27].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	At least 18 sides depict bulls [*Beschreibung*. 727-39; 924; *Jdl* 12 (1897) pp. 41-48. nos. 85; 90a; 122; 164].

(iii) Moschophoroi and sacrificial scenes

• Ephesos		
Pedestal relief	? 4th c BC	1 *nike* with sacrificial bull [*JHS* 34 (1914) p. 79. Fig. 5].
• Brauron		
Marble reliefs	4th c BC	2 sacrificial scenes with bull as victim [Museum; *Ergon* 1958 Fig. 37; *Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 974].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	1 ? ox, led by man [*FdD* V.2. 42].
• Naukratis		
Limestone statuettes	6th c BC	At least 1 bull led by two sacrificers [*Naukratis*. I. p. 13. Pl. 2.21].
• Acropolis		
Marble statue	*c* 570 BC	1 *moschophoros* [Payne. Pl. 2-4].
Marble relief (dedicatory)		1 sacrificial scene with ox as victim [Walter. *Beschreibung*. p. 107. no. 231].
Parthenon frieze	*c* 440 BC	Cattle led in sacred procession [F. Brommer. *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*. Pl. 65.4; Pl. 96-98].
• Samos		
Marble statues	Archaic	Several sacrificers leading cows by their horns [*Samos*. XI. p. 31. Pl. 53-64; Walter. p. 80. Fig. 77].
• ? Sounion		
Marble relief		2 men leading ? cow or bull to sacrifice [*AE* 1917 p. 194].

(iv) Cattle-bones

• Ephesos	
Bones	Cattle-bones beside altar [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 280; *Festschrift*. p. 108].
• Delos	
Bones	Bones of oxen and calves beneath Archaic temple [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) p. 207].

•Dreros	
Teeth	Ox-teeth, unenumerated [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 222].
Horn	1 ox-horn [*Ibid.* p. 244].
•Lindos	
Bones	Ox-bones [*Lindos.* I. p. 12; pp. 183-4].
•Knossos	
Bones	33 cattle-bones (3% of total) [Coldstream. p. 178].
•Cnidus	
Bones	Bones of 1 small ox [Newton. *History.* II. pp. 389-390].
•Isthmia	
Bones	Bones of young bulls [*Neue Forschungen.* pp. 57-8].

5. Deer

(i) Separate deer

- Artemis Orthia

Bronze	Geometric	1 fawn [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 76.m].
	5th c BC	1 stag [p. 202. Pl. 90.c].
Carnelian *intaglio*	Mycenean	1 deer (and tree) [p. 378. Pl. 204.B2].
Stone scaraboids	8th c BC	2 with deer [p. 379. Fig. 144a & c].
Lead III-VI	600-250 BC	Deer, unenumerated [p. 277. Pl. 194.1-5; p. 278. Pl. 199.11-16; p. 279. Pl. 200.14-20].

- Ephesos

Ivory	Archaic	1 fawn-head [Hogarth. p. 166. Pl. 26.2].

- Delos Artemision

Bronze	Archaic	1 deer [*BCH* 48 (1924) p. 431].
Lapis lazuli seal	Mycenean	Engraving on two sides of a seal, deer looking back [*BCH* 71-72 (1947-8) p. 217. no. 60. Figs. 22.3 & 23].

- Delos (Artemis Locheia)

Marble relief	4th c BC	Sacrificial deer (brought to the altar) [*Délos*. XI. p. 302. Fig. 253].

- Kalydon

Bronze	Geometric	1 deer [Dyggve. p. 344. Fig. 313].
Terracotta		Deer ("zalreich") [*Ibid*. p. 344].

- Lousoi

Bronze		1 antler [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 57. Fig. 115].

- Brauron

Engraved stones		At least 1 with doe, and 1 with stag [Museum].

- Thasos

Painted terra-cotta	Archaic	1 statuette-base with deer [*BCH* 83 (1959) pp. 779-780. Fig. 10].

- Olympia altar

Terracotta		Handmade deer, unenumerated [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 108].

- Aricia

Bronze	Archaic	1 fawn [*NSc* 1885 p. 320].
Marble		1 small fawn's head [*NSc* 1895 p. 429].

(But many "animals" from Aricia are unspecified.)

• Kalapodi		
Bronze	Geometric	1 small deer crowning wheel-pendant [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 59].
• Pherai		
Bronze *fibula*	Geometric	1 engraved with group of doe and fawn [Kilian. Pl. 87.26].
Bronze	Geometric	1 fragment of stag [*Ibid*. Pl. 87.20].
• Kirrha		
Bronze	5th c BC	1 deer in flight [*FdD* V.2. 247].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	6 deer [*FdD* V.2. 122-6; 129].
Gold plaques	Archaic	2 zones with stag alone (2 with stag as lion's victim) [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 97. no. 24].
• Maleatas		
Bronze ring	4th c BC	1 ring engraved with deer [*PAE* 1975 p. 174.19. Pl. 152.b].
Stone seal	Mycenean	1 engraved with two deer [*PAE* 1950 p. 199. Fig. 8].
• Ptoion		
Bronze	Geometric	1 deer from tripod [Ducat. p. 59. no. 40. Pl. 12].
• Amyclai		
Bronze	Undated	1 deer [*AE* 1894 p. 14].
• Halieis		
Bronze	? 5th c BC	1 deer [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B[1]. *Chr*. p. 235. Pl. 175a].
• Lindos		
Stone scaraboids	Archaic	2 engraved with deer [*Lindos*. I. 529-30].
Steatite prism	Archaic	1 with schematic deer (and bird) [*Ibid*. 518b].
Paste scarabs	Archaic	2 with gazelles [1451-1452].
• Athena Pronaia		
Bronze	Geometric	Head of 1 deer [*FdD* V.2. 124].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	5 deer/does [*BCH* 45 (1921) pp. 346-7. Figs. 2.13 & 16; 6.14 & 15; 19.17].

• Athena Chalkioikos		
Lead	Undated (post-600 BC)	Most of 15 animals are deer [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 153].
• Philia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 deer (on two spheres) [*BCH* 92 (1968) p. 869. Fig. 2].
Bronze *fibula*	Geometric	1 plaque showing deer attacked by dog [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 136. Fig. 1].
• Perachora		
Bronze	Geometric	3 deer [*Perachora*. I. p. 126. Pl. 37].
Ivory seal	E 7th c BC	1 with stag [*Perachora*. II. p. 416 A.33].
Paste scarabs	750-650 BC	1 with deer [*Ibid*. p. 499 D.483]. 15 with gazelles [*Ibid*. p. 501 D.485-D.499. Fig. 36].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Geometric/ Archaic	3 deer [Waldstein. II. pp. 200-1. Pl. 73-4].
• Delos Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	2 couchant does [*Délos*. XXIII. nos. 181 & 182].
• Samos		
Bronze	Archaic	At least 3 deer, and 1 antler (Greek and oriental) [Buschor. Figs. 222-3; *Samos*. VIII. p. 70. Pl. 72 (1282); Pl. 82 (154 & 476)].
Bronze vase	L Mycenean	1 vase with engraved frieze of deer [*Ibid*. pp. 40-1. Pl. 37 (964)].
Lamp	2nd c AD	Lamp decorated with deer [*AM* 54 (1929) p. 57. Fig. 51.4].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Stone seal	? Archaic	1 with deer [*AJA* 80 (1976) Pl. 29. Fig. 41].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	8 deer (2 attacked by dogs) [*OlForsch*. XII. 507; 507a; 705; 721-3; *Olympia*. IV. 205-6].
	Archaic	2 deer [*Olympia*. IV. 946; 946a].
Fibula-plaque	Geometric	1 engraved with wounded deer [*Ibid*. 366].

• Dodona		
Bronze		1 running deer [Carapanos. p. 37. Pl. 20.9].
Bronze ring		1 engraved doe (chased by horse) [*Ibid.* p. 94. Pl. 50.6].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 couchant ? doe (or hare) [Furtwängler. p. 380. no. 69].
• Prinias		
Limestone relief (Temple A)	L 7th c BC	Frieze of deer [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) Fig. 21.c.3; Boardman. Fig. 32.1].
Relief *pithos*	Archaic	Doe chased by lion [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 70. Fig. 39].

(ii) Females with deer

• Ephesos		
Pedestal relief	? 4th c BC	1 goddess with deer [*JHS* 34 (1914) p. 78. Fig. 4].
• Kalydon		
Terracotta	L Archaic	"Many" goddesses with deer [Dyggve. p. 342. Fig. 310].
• Lousoi		
Terracotta	Undated	"Several" goddesses with deer [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 37. Fig. 25].
• Brauron		
Terracotta plaques	6th c BC	2 with goddess and deer (beside throne, running beside her) [Themelis. *Brauron*. pp. 76 & 78].
Marble relief	4th c BC	1 with deer beside throne of goddess [*Ergon* 1958 p. 34. Fig. 36].
Terracotta figurines	6th c BC	2 seated females with fawn/deer [*Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 665-6].
• Kanoni		
Terracotta	E 5th c BC	Over 300 goddesses with stag, doe or fawn [*BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 38-9; p. 41. Pl. 2.1; pp. 48 & 51. Pl. 3.1 & 2; p. 52. Pl. 2.5; p. 53. Fig. 8; p. 56. Pl. 5.1; pp. 58-9. Pl. 6.1 & 2; p. 61. Pl. 5.3]. 2 complete figurines, and fragments of about 10, of goddess with a pair of does (and panthers) in relief against skirt [*Ibid*. pp. 72-7. Fig. 11. Pl. 7.1].

• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th & 3rd cs BC	About 30 goddesses with deer [*NSc* 1900 p. 370. Figs. 19-20].
• Gonnos		
Marble relief	*c* 300 BC	Artemis with doe, and torch [B. Helly. *Gonnoi*. II. no. 167. Pl. 25].
• Kirrha		
Terracotta	Archaic/ Classical	2 goddesses with deer [*BCH* 62 (1938) p. 470. Pl. 53a].
• Corinth (Apollo)		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 fragment goddess with deer [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 153. Pl. 60.14].
• Bassai		
Frieze of temple	450-425 BC	Deer pulling chariot of Artemis [Richter. Fig. 146].
• ? Acropolis		
Terracotta	L Archaic	4 females may hold fawn (or kid) [*Catalogue*. II. pp. 371. no. 548; *AA* 8 (1893) p. 146. Figs. 23-26; *Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 664].
• Knossos		
Terracotta	E 5th c BC	1 goddess with deer [Coldstream. p. 59. Pl. 33.13].

(iii) Remains of deer: bones and antlers

• Ephesos	Bones of 2 deer and 1 gazelle [*Festschrift*. p. 108: *AJA* 80 (1976) p. 280].
• Kalydon	1 antler [Dygvve. p. 344].
• Lousoi	Several antlers [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 37; Rouse. p. 50].
• Lindos	Some deer-bones [*Lindos*. I. pp. 12 & 183. Fig. 24].
• Tegea	1 antler (found by Romaios) [Dyggve. p. 344].
• Perachora	1 fragment of stag's antler [*Perachora*. II. p. 477. Pl. 189].
• Knossos	A few deer-bones (0.7% of total bones) [Coldstream. p. 178].

6. Dogs

(i) Separate dogs

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 dog [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 76f].
Terracotta	Undated	7 dogs [p. 157. Pl. 41.10-13].
Limestone relief	*c* 600 BC	1 dog [pp. 192-3].
Ivory	820-635 BC	28 couchant dogs [p. 232. Pl. 154.5 & 149.2].
Ivory comb	6th c BC	1 with winged dog [p. 233. Pl. 131.4].
Steatite seal	Mycenean	1 with dog [p. 379. Pl. 104.B_1].
• Ephesos		
Limestone		1 head of dog (altar area) [*AA* 87 (1972) p. 715].
• Kalydon		
(Bronze relief	Archaic	1 fox (chest-attachment) [Dyggve. p. 345. Fig. 315].)
Terracotta	Undated	Dogs, unenumerated [p. 345].
Marble water-spouts	4th c BC	Dogs' heads (from Temple B_3) [pp. 248-9. Figs. 150 (p. 128) & 147 (p. 126)].
• Lousoi		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 hunting dog [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 48. Fig. 64].
	? 5th c BC	1 shepherd's dog [Sinn. p. 36. Fig. 15].
Terracotta	Undated	1 legless dog with collar [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 44. Fig. 53].
• Brauron		
? Terracotta		1 ? dog [Museum].
Marble	4th c BC	1 small seated dog [Museum].
• Epidaurus		
Marble water-spouts	4th c BC	Dogsheads from temple of Artemis [*PAE* 1906 p. 96. Pl. C.2 & D.1. Fig. 6 (p. 99)].
• Olympia (Artemis altar)		
Terracotta		Handmade dogs, unenumerated [*ADelt* 18^1 (1963) *Chr*. p. 107].
• Kombothreka		
Terracotta	L Geometric	1 ? dog [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 67. Pl. 9.9].

• Delos		
Bronze	Archaic	1 dog [*BCH* 48 (1924) p. 431].
• Paros		
Terracotta	5th c BC	1 dog (or fox) sleeping [Rubensöhn p. 168. no. 100. Pl. 33].
• Knakeatis		
Terracotta	Undated	Dogs especially numerous [*PAE* 1907 p. 121].
Marble	L 6th c BC	1 dog [*AE* 1952 p. 27. Fig. 21.6].
• Aricia		
Bronze		1 dog reported [*MA* 13 (1903) p. 327].
• Syracuse		
Terracotta plaque		1 (fragmentary) with dog [*MA* 41 (1951) p. 807. Fig. 86].
• Pherai		
Bronze	Geometric	At least 1 dog reported [Bequignon. p. 67. Pl. 20.5; *RE* Suppl. 7. p. 1006; Kilian. p. 185].

• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	1 dog [*FdD* V. 2. 128].
Bronze relief	L Archaic	2 grey-hounds (appliqué) [*FdD* V (1908) p. 126. Fig. 470. no. 681].
• Delos(Apollo) Ivory plaque	Archaic	1 grey-hound (appliqué) [Délos XVIII. p. 237. Fig. 258].
• Maleatas		
Bronze	5th c BC	1 running dog (part of mirror) [*PAE* 1975 p. 174.17. Pl. 152a].
Terracotta		Dogs unenumerated [*PAE* 1974 p. 100. no. 6].
• Amyclai		
? Terracotta	Archaic	1 ? dog [*AM* 52 (1927) p. 41].
Terracotta relief	Archaic	1 fragmentary dog [*Ibid.* p. 42].
• Thermon		
Terracotta water-spout	E 6th c BC	1 dogshead (? from temple of Artemis) [*ADelt* 1 (1915) *Parartima*. p. 47; Van Buren. p. 70].

• Lindos		
Terracotta	Archaic	7 dogs [*Lindos*. I. 1908-10; 1964-5; 1967-8].
	5th c BC	1 dog [2401].

• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	3 dogs [De Ridder. 460-2. Fig. 124].
Marble	Archaic	1 crouching hound (1 of pair ?) [Payne. Pl. 131.3].
Statue-base relief		1 with two hunting dogs [Walter. *Beschreibung*. p. 201.404B].
• Tegea		
Bronze	L Geometric/ E Archaic	1 standing dog [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 348. Fig. 6.20].
• Athena Chalkioikos		
Terracotta	Geometric/ Archaic	Dogs, unenumerated [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 80. Fig. 2.8]. 1 dog's head (? from vase).[*Ibid. Loc. cit.*].
• Asea		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 fox (surmounting rosette) [*AE* 1957 p. 149. Fig. 42].
• Perachora		
Terracotta	Archaic	9 dogs and 1 fox [*Perachora*. I. p. 228 (162 & 164). Pl. 101].
Ivory	7th c BC	3-4 couchant dogs (1 curled up) [*Perachora*. II. pp. 408-10. Pl. 174].
Paste scarabs	Archaic	1 with dog [*Ibid*. p. 499 D.484. Fig. 36].
• Samos		
Bronze	5th c BC	1 dog [Buschor. Figs. 231-2].
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 dog's head [*AM* 65 (1940) p. 90. note 1].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Undated	1 ? dog, and 1 dog's head [Waldstein. II. Pl. 48.12 & 19].
• Souvala		
Terracotta	Undated	1 dog [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B². p. 387].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Orientalizing	1 dog [*Olympia*. IV. p. 153].
Bronze handle	"Later"	1 dog's head handle [*Ibid*. 1281].

Terracotta	Geometric/ E Archaic	11 dogs [*OlForsch*. VII. 210-219 & 231].
		2 *cerberi* [*Ibid*. 232-3].
Bronze tripod-leg	7th c BC	1 zone with dog [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109. Pl. 145.a].

• Dodona

Bronze *patera*-handle	? Archaic	1 ending in dogs' masks [Carapanos. Pl. 20.5].

• Penteskouphia

Pinax	650-500 BC	1 side with fox under tree [*Beschreibung*. 784. Illustrated in *Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 34. Fig. 25].

(ii) Dogs with mistress or master

• Artemis Orthia

Terracotta	Roman	Fragments of 5-10 Artemis with dog [*AO* p. 161.3].
Ivory plaque	7th c BC	1 with man and dog [p. 212. Pl. 103.2].

• Brauron

Terracotta plaque	L 6th c BC	Artemis running beside her dog [Themelis. *Brauron*. p. 80].
Marble statuette	4th c BC	1 small boy with dog [Museum].
Marble relief	L 5th c BC	Artemis with running dog [*Lexlc*. II. "Artemis". 234].

• Olympia (Artemis)

Terracotta	Classical or later	Artemis with dog, unenumerated [*ADelt* 18 (1963) *Chr*. p. 108].

• Scala Greca

Terracotta	4th c or 3rd c BC	50 figurines, Artemis with dog [*NSc* 1900. p. 369. Fig. 16].

• Aricia

Bronze		Goddesses with dog, unenumerated [*MA* 13 (1903) p. 324; *NSc* 1885 p. 254].

• Delphi

Bronze	Geometric	1 man holding ? dog [*FdD* V.2. 45].

• Lindos		
Terracotta	4th c BC	1 seated boy with dog [*Lindos*. I. 2928].
• Athena Chalkioikos		
Terracotta	Roman	"Several" huntresses with dog [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 145].
• Acropolis		
Marble relief	*c* 400 BC	Goddess in deerskin with dog [*LexIc*. II. "Artemis". 622].

• Samos		
Bronze	*c* 720 BC	1 man hunting lion with dog [Walter. p. 47. Fig. 38; Boardman. Fig. 12].
	7th c BC	2 oriental male dog-holders [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 133. Pl. 17].

(iii) Hunting-motifs with dogs

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory	L 7th c BC	1 dog bringing down calf [*AO* p. 233. Pl. 152].
• Diktynnaion of Crete		
Limestone stele	3rd c BC	Engraving on 1 treaty-stele depicting the pediment of a building with *akroterion* of two dogs attacking two goats [*MA* 11 (1901) p. 302. Fig. 9].
• Aphaia		
Cylinder seal	Archaic	Dog hunting hare [*Furtwängler*. p. 434. Pl. 118.35].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Archaic	1 dog biting ? goat [*FdD* V.2. 190].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	1 man between fighting dog and goat [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 354. Fig. 17.50].
• Philia		
Bronze *fibula*-plaque	Geometric	1 with dogs attacking deer [*ADelt* 18^1 (1963) p. 136. Fig. 1].
• Samos		
Bronze	720 BC	1 dog and man fighting lion [Walter. p. 47. Fig. 38].

• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	2 deer attacked by dogs [*OlForsch* XII. 722-3].
• Dodona		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 dog with animal in mouth [Hammond. p. 431].

(iv) Bones of dogs

• Ephesos	Dog-bones near altar [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 280].
• Knossos	1.26% of bones are dogs (i.e. 13) [Coldstream. p. 178].

7. Fish, dolphins and other sea-creatures

(i) Representations of fish

• Artemis Orthia		
Lead I-II	700-600 BC	Unenumerated fish [*AO* p. 263. Pl. 184.17: p. 269. Pl. 189.22].
Ivory:		
Couchant animal base *intagli*	8th & 7th cs BC	4 with fish [p. 234. Pl. 155.5].
3-faced seal	Geometric	1 fish (with siren) [p. 229. Pl. 168.3b].
Plaque	L 7th c BC	1 ship, with fish and fishermen [Pl. 110].
Limestone relief	*c* 600 BC	1 fish-tailed female [p. 193. no. 58].
• Pherai		
Bronze	Geometric or Archaic	1 fish [Kilian. Pl. 87.27; *RE* Suppl. 7 (1950) 1005].
• Bassai		
Terracotta vase	? 6th c BC	1 fish-shaped vase [*AE* 1910 p. 291. Fig. 11b].
• Amyclai		
Terracotta		1 fragment hippocamp [*AM* 52 (1927) p. 42].
Engraved stone	? Geometric	1 with three fish [*AE* 1892 p. 13. Pl. 4.3].
• Kato Phana		
Gold ring		1 bezel decorated with sea-horse [*ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 211. Fig. 33].
• Lindos		
Bone pendants	Archaic	5 fish [*Lindos*. I. 210-214].
Serpentine scarab	L Geometric	1 with large fish and ? worshipper [525].
Faience vase	Archaic	1 fish-shaped vase [1327].
Faience scarabs	Archaic	2 with fish [1462-3].
• Tegea		
Bronze	E Archaic	1 fish [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 365. Fig. 19.43].
• Philia		
Bronze *fibula*	Geometric	1 engraved with four fish [*ADelt* 18^1 (1963) p. 136. Fig. 1].
• Sounion		
Engraved stone	Archaic	1 with two ? fish [*AE* 1917 p. 212].

• Perachora		
Silver gilt pendant	"Not early"	[*Perachora*. I. p. 185. Pl. 84.34].
Ivory seals	7th c BC	1 or 2 with crab [*Perachora*. II. p. 412 A.24; p. 431 A.108].
• Argive Heraion		
Ivory disc	Archaic	1 with ? flying fish [Waldstein. II. p. 352. Pl. 139.13].
• Samos		
Terracotta		1 ? fish head [*AM* 65 (1940) Pl. 62. no. 945].
Terracotta lamp	2nd c BC	Lamp decorated with 13 small fish [*AM* 54 (1929) p. 55. Fig. 48].
• Knossos		
Engraved carnelian	Minoan	1, decorated with two fish [Coldstream. pp. 124-5. Fig. 27.3. Pl. 81.3].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Archaic	1 fish [*Olympia*. IV. 978].
Cut-out bronze sheet	Geometric	2 fish [*Ibid*. 728].
Bronze *fibula*-plaque	L Geometric	1 engraved with four fish [*OlForsch* XIII. 1009].
Incized stone	*c* 600 BC	1 with fish [*Olympia*. IV. 1195.a].
Tripod-leg	Geometric	1 zone with crab [*OlForsch* III. Pl. 92.2].
Mosaic	2nd c AD	Sea horse as *motif* in Octagon [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 110. Pl. 147.b].
• Dodona		
Bronze *fibula*-plaque	8th c BC	1 engraved with four fish [*PAE* 1931 p. 86. Fig. 3; Hammond. p. 429].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	9 with fish [*Beschreibung*. 746-8; 751-5; 892]. 1 with Poseidon and fish [460]. 2 with eel [756-7].
• Tinos		
Marble temple-decorations	Hellenistic	1 fish-tail (or flipper) [*BCH* 26 (1902) p. 409].

• Asea		
Sheet bronze	7th c BC	1 fish (decorated both sides) [*AE* 1957 p. 157. Fig. 54].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 octopus [De Ridder. 574. Fig. 188].
• Amyclai		
Bronze	Archaic	1 fish inscribed to Poseidon [*AM* 52 (1927) p. 37].

(ii) Remains of fish

• Delos Artemision		
Shells	Mycenean or Geometric	Remains of shell fish [*DPA* p. 131].
• Lindos		
Bones		Bones of large fish [*Lindos*. I. p. 183].
• Perachora		
Bones		2 sharks' vertebrae (1 pierced) [*Perachora*. II. p. 444].
• Knossos		
Bones		Bones of 1 fish [Coldstream. p. 178].

(iii) Representations of dolphins

• Ephesos		
Bronze	Archaic	1 small dolphin-shaped pin-head [Hogarth. p. 153].
Marble relief (? altar blocks)	L classical	Dolphins [*AA* 83 (1968) pp. 410-12. Fig. 22].
• Brauron		
Miniature *pinax*		1 round terracotta painted with two dolphins [Museum].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Classical	1 leaping dolphin [*FdD* V.2.209]. 1 dolphin's tail [*Ibid*. 245].

Bronze handle		1 handle decorated with a miniature dolphin at each end [*FdD* V (1908) p. 75. no. 317. Fig. 256].
Ivory	Roman	1 large fragmentary relief with dolphin [*Ibid*. p. 212. no. 727. Fig. 922].
Lamps	Roman	At least 3 lamps with dolphin relief [*Ibid*. pp. 188-9. nos. 525-6. Fig. 819].

• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	1 dolphin [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 352. no. 42. Figs. 6 & 11].
• Elateia		
Bronze		1 dolphin [*BCH* 12 (1888) p. 48].
Terracotta		1 dolphin [*BCH* 11 (1887) p. 444].

• Argive Heraion		
Sheet bronze	Archaic	1 dolphin [Waldstein. II. p. 274. Pl. 108. 1837].
Engraved stone	Mycenean	1 dolphin [*Ibid*. p. 350. no. 58].
• Samos		
Terracotta lamp	1st c AD	1 lamp decorated with dolphin and naiad [*AM* 54 (1929) Fig. 51.2].

• Olympia		
Bronze pendant	Undated	1 dolphin [*Olympia*. IV. 1169].
Mosaic	2nd c AD	Dolphin as *motif* in Octagon [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 110. Pl. 147.b].

• Isthmia		
Bronze	? Archaic	1 miniature dolphin [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 328. Pl. 68e].
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 dolphin (with Poseidon) [*Ibid*. p. 332. Fig. 9].
Pinax	Archaic	1 dolphin (with Poseidon) [*Hesperia* 27 (1958) p. 35. Pl. 11b].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	2 with dolphin [*Beschreibung*. 749; *Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 43. no. 41]. 2 with dolphin (and Poseidon) [*Beschreibung*. 458-9].

◦ Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 dolphin (with youth on back) [De Ridder. 755. Fig. 263].
Bronze weight	Archaic	1 weight decorated with two dolphins in relief [*Ibid.* 408].
• Tinos		
Marble temple-decorations	Hellenistic	2 heads of dolphins; 1 flipper (or fish-tail) [*BCH* 26 (1902) pp. 409-10].

(iv) Fabulous sea-creatures

• Lindos		
Cypriot lime-stone	Archaic	5 marine monsters (fish-tailed, man-headed, one with squid-like body) [*Lindos.* I. 1820-24].
• Perachora		
Terracotta	Hellenistic	1 fragment of marine monster [*Perachora.* I. p. 228. no. 163. Pl. 101].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	1 with sea-monster alone [*Beschreibung.* 915]. 2-4 with sea-monster and rider [*Ibid.* 780; 914; *Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 46. no. 148-9].
• Tinos		
Marble temple-decorations	Hellenistic	6 foreparts of marine monsters [*BCH* 26 (1902) pp. 409-10]. 2 fragments sea-dragons [*Ibid. Loc. cit.*].
• Acropolis		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 marine griffin (ridden by youth) [De Ridder. 355].
Cut-out bronze appliqué	Archaic	1 triton (holding fish) [*Ibid.* 376].

8. Frogs or toads

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 frog [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 80.6].
Bone	5th c BC	2 cut-out plaques [p. 217. Pl. 115].
Ivory seal	750-650 BC	1 with frog [Pl. 147 (bottom row)].
• Ephesos		
Gold foil	Archaic	1 frog [Hogarth. p. 96. Pl. 4.17].
• Pherai		
Ivory	? Archaic	Not enumerated [*BCH* 47 (1923) p. 524].
• Apollo Maleatas		
Terracotta	? 6th c BC	1 swimming frog [*PAE* 1948 p. 108. Fig. 12].
• Sparta (Chalkioikos)		
Bronze	Undated	1 frog [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 90. Fig. 5.19].
Terracotta	Undated	1 frog [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 80].
• Lindos		
Plastic vase	525-400 BC	1 frog [*Lindos*. I. no. 2440].
• Perachora		
Ivory seal	E 7th c BC	1 has frog [*Perachora*. II. p. 413 A.25].
• AH		
Bronze	Archaic	1 frog [Waldstein. 1905. p. 203. Pl. 76.31].
Ivory disc	Archaic	? 1 with frog [p. 352. Pl. 139.9].
• Samos		
Bronze	*c* 600 BC	Frog on lion's head waterspout [*AM* 55 (1930) p. 30. Pl. 1].
Kernos	*c* 600 BC	1 toad (among decorations) [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 29. *Beil*. 67].
Bronze vase	Archaic	1 small frog from vase [Buschor. Fig. 212].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Bronze	Archaic	1 frog [*Expedition* 17 (1974) no. 4. p. 13].
• Olympia		
Bronze pendant medallion	"Later"	1 engraved with frog [*Olympia*. IV. 1168].

9. Tortoises

• Artemis Orthia		
Lead	L 8th c BC	2 specimens only [*AO* p. 254. Pl. 179.4 & 5].
Bronze	L Geometric	1 tortoise [p. 197. Pl. 80.a].
Bone plaque	6th or 5th cs BC	2 (1 is a turtle) [p. 217. Pl. 115].
Terracotta	7th c & 6th c BC	2 tortoises [p. 158. Pl. 47.14].
• Kalydon		
Bronze	Undated	Tortoises (not enumerated) [Dyggve. p. 344].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	L Archaic	Tortoises (not enumerated) [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810. Fig. 10b].
• Paros		
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 or 2 tortoises [Rubensohn. p. 168. no. 102. Pl. 33; *cf Delos*. XXIII. no. 217].
• Kalapodi		
Natural	Mycenean	Shells [*BCH* 105 (1981) p. 812].

• A. Maleatas		
Terracotta	6th c BC - E Hellenistic	More than 1 specimen reported [*PAE* 1950 p. 202. Fig. 13; *PAE* 1974 p. 100. no. 6].
• Thermon		
Terracotta	? Archaic	1 tortoise [*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 230].
• Delos (Apollo)		
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 tortoise [*Delos*. XXIII. no. 217. Pl. 21].
• Delphi		
Bronze *alabastron*	Archaic	1 tortoise [*FdD* V (1908) p. 93. no. 440. Fig. 318].

• Tegea		
Bronze	E Archaic	2 tortoises [*BCH* 45 (1921) pp. 351-2. nos. 40-41. Fig. 42 (p. 382)].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	525-400 BC	23 tortoises [*Lindos*. I. 2437-9].

• Elateia		
Terracotta	Undated	Part of 1 tortoise [*BCH* 11 (1887) p. 444].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 tortoise [De Ridder. 573. Fig. 187].
• Perachora		
Terracotta	L Archaic	1 tortoise [*Perachora*. I. p. 229. no. 177. Pl. 101].
Ivory disc seal		1 has tortoise [*Perachora*. II. p. 429.A.91].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Undated	1 tortoise [Waldstein. II. p. 42. no. 265. Pl. 48.22].
Terracotta relief disc	Undated	1 has tortoise [*Ibid*. p. 354].
• Samos		
Marble	6th c BC	1 tortoise forming dedicatory lyre [*Samos*. XI. p. 167. no. 84. Pl. 70].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 tortoise, plus 1 fragment another [Furtwängler. p. 383. nos. 98-99. Pl. 111.22].

10. Goats

(i) Representations of goats

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	7th c BC	1 goat (probably hook) [*AO* p. 200. Pl. 87b].
Terracotta	740-500 BC	4 goats [p. 157].
Lead I-IV	700-500 BC	At least 5 goats (unenumerated) [p. 262. Pl. 184.19; p. 269. Pl. 189.23-5; p. 276. Pl. 194.24].
Lead scarab rings: I-II	7th c BC	1 ring with goat or ibex in bezel [p. 256. Fig. 118j].
Ivory figurine	8th or 7th c BC	1 couchant goat [p. 232].
Couchant animal base	8th or 7th c BC	1 with *intaglio* of goat [p. 235. Pl. 155.6].
Ivory comb	7th c BC	1 with relief of ibex [p. 223. Pl. 129].
Carnelian *intaglio*	Mycenean	1 ibex [p. 378. Fig. 144f].
• Ephesos		
? Gold foil	Archaic	1 ? goat's head (but could be fly) [Hogarth. p. 96. Pl. 7.38].
Ivory relief	Archaic	1 couchant ibex [*Ibid*. p. 163. Pl. 21.5].
• Kalydon		
Bronze		2 goats [Dyggve. p. 344. Fig. 314].
• Brauron		
Marble ? *akroterion*	? 5th c BC	1 goat's head [*PAE* 1959 p. 19].
• Mounychia		
Seal		1 engraved with goat (and goose) [*PAE* 1935 p. 192].
• Diktynnaion of Crete		
Limestone *stele*	3rd c BC	Engraving at head of 1 treaty-*stele* depicting a pediment with *akroterion* of two goats attacked by dogs [*MA* 11 (1901) p. 302. Fig. 9].
• Aricia		
Bronze		Some goats [*MA* 13 (1903) p. 327].
• Pherai		
Bronze	Geometric/ Archaic	At least 2 goats [Kilian p. 185. Pl. 87.17 & 18].

• Delphi		
Bronze	Archaic	1 goat bitten by ? dog [*FdD* V.2. 190].
Gold plaque	Archaic	1 with ibex [*BCH* 63 (1939) Pl. 25].
• Apollo Maleatas		
Steatite seal	Mycenean	1 with ibex [*PAE* 1976 pp. 207-8. Pl. 143.d].
• Halieis		
Bronze	? Archaic	1 forepart of goat [*ADelt* 26 (1971) B[1] p. 118].
• Dreros		
Incized stone	"Primitive"	Goats attacked by archers [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 279. Fig. 44].
• Lindos		
Bronze pendants	Archaic	6 double goat-protomes, and 1 whole goat [*Lindos*. I. 223-227].
Bronze bow *fibula*	pre-525 BC	1 engraved with goat [96].
Terracotta	Archaic post-525 BC	1 fragment of goat's head [1907]. 1 fragment of goat [2409].
Engraved steatite	pre-525 BC	1 goat [516].
Stone scaraboid	pre-525 BC	1 engraved ibex [531].
Paste scarabs	pre-525 BC	3 with ibexes [1449-1450].
• Philia		
Faience scarab	7th c BC	1 engraved with goat [*BCH* 91 (1967) p. 703. Fig. 11].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 galloping goat [De Ridder. 524].
Bronze *caduceus*	Archaic	1 ending in goat's head [409-10. Figs. 83-4].
Bronze *patera*-handle	Archaic	1 galloping ibex [511].
• Asea		
Sheet bronze	7th or 6th c BC	1 goat [*AE* 1957 p. 157. Fig. 53].
• Gortyn		
Pinax	7th c BC	1 wild goat [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 232. Fig. 25].

• Perachora		
Ivory seals	7th c BC	5 with goats/goats' heads [*Perachora*. II. p. 419 A.41; p. 425 A.69-70; p. 426 A.72; p. 432 A.114].
Bone button	7th c BC	1 with goat [p. 432 A.114].
Engraved stone	Archaic or earlier	1 with goat [*Ibid*. p. 453 B.8].
• Argive Heraion		
Paste scaraboid	Archaic	2 scaraboids engraved with ibex [Waldstein. II. p. 372.32-3].
• Samos		
Oriental bronzes	*c* 700 BC	1 goat with suspension ring [*AM* 74 (1959) pp. 35 (no. 6) & 40. *Beil*. 82.1].
	7th c BC	1 ibex (? part of throne) [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 291. Pl. 123. Fig. 33].
Hittite bronze figurines	7th c BC	3 he-goats and 4 ibexes [*Samos*. VIII. pp. 62-3. Pl. 58].
Hittite cauldron-handles	7th c BC	2 he-goats [*Ibid*. p. 63. Pl. 59]. 1 leaping ibex [*Ibid*. *Loc. cit.*]. 1 winged he-goat with human face [Pl. 60].
Hittite bronze blinkers	7th c BC	2 with an engraved he-goat (and *potnia theron* with lions) [*Ibid*. p. 59. Pl. 53].
Cypriot terra-cottas	6th c BC	2 he-goats [*Samos*. VII. p. 45. Pl. 89].
Ivory comb	Archaic	Frieze of goat (and lion) [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 302. Pl. 137.2].
Wood-engravings	8th c BC	Relief of small long-horned goat on side of 1 horse-shaped stool [*AM* 68 (1953) p. 89. Fig. 3].
	Archaic	1 decorated board with two wild goats [*AM* 95 (1980) p. 115. Fig. 9].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta		1 fragment (horn) of a large goat's head [Furtwängler. p. 385. no. 121. Pl. 111.16] Forepart of 1 goat [*Ibid*. Pl. 111.20].
Engraved steatite	Mycenean	2 with wild goat [p. 432. Fig. 338. nos. 2 & 7. Pl. 118.20].
Scaraboid	post-Mycenean	1 wild goat [p. 433. Fig. 339. no. 12].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 fragment of goat-vase [p. 383].

• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	3 he-goats [*OlForsch* XII. 920-1; *Olympia*. IV. 225].
	Archaic	8 goats [*Ibid*. 943-5].
Sheet-bronze	Geometric	1 he-goat relief [*Ibid*. 296.b].
Iron	Geometric	1 goat (part of pin) [*Ibid*. 476].
• Nemea		
Bronze ring	5th BC or earlier	1 with heraldic goats (and sphinxes) on bezel [*Hesperia* 50 (1981) p. 50. Pl. 13.c].
• Dodona		
Bronze	7th-6th cs BC	Several goats [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 21.2; *PAE* 1955 Pl. 57.b; *Ep. Chr.* 10 (1935) p. 228.3. Pl. 18a].
	5th c BC	1 kneeling goat (from a utensil) [Richter. *Animals in Greek Sculpture*. Fig. 123].
• Isthmia		
Bronze	Archaic	At least 1 he-goat for vessel [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 328. Pl. 68d].
• Kalauria		Several goat-figurines [in museum].
Bronze		1 goat's head [AM 20(1895) p.317].

(ii) Goats with humans or deities

• ? Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	7th c BC	1 herdsman carrying either sheep or goat [*AO* p. 157. Fig. 112].
• Brauron		
Marble reliefs	5th c BC	Artemis feeding she-goat with young [*PAE* 1959 Pl. 13a].
	4th c BC	At least 1 with goat led to the altar [*Ergon* 1958. Fig. 36; *LexIc* II. 673].
• Artemis Locheia (Delos)		
Marble reliefs	4th c BC	2 with goat led to the altar [*Délos*. XI. p. 299. Fig. 247; p. 300. Fig. 248].
• Diktynnaion of Crete		
Limestone *stele*	3rd c BC	Engraving on 1 large treaty-*stele* with Artemis Diktynna, goat, and tree [*MA* 11 (1901) p. 302. Fig. 9].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th or 3rd c BC	1 goddess with he-goat [*NSc* 1900 p. 372. Fig. 21.2].

• ? Acropolis		
Terracotta	L Archaic	At least 4 seated female figurines may carry a kid [*Catalogue*. II. pp. 371-2. nos. 143; 167; 315 & 322].
• Dreros		
Incized limestone	"Primitive"	Herd of goats (? with goat-herds) attacked by archers [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 279. Fig. 44].
• Lindos		
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	13 male goat-carriers [*Lindos*. I. 1739-1746; 1748; 1765-1766; 1770]. 1 female goat-carrier [*Ibid*. 1766]. 12 men with standing goat [1750-1759]. 3 men with rampant goat [1761-1763].
Terracotta	5th c BC	1 male goat-carrier [2359].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta	7th c BC	1 goddess with skirt decorated by a goat (and two water-birds) [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 262. Fig. 58a].
• Samos		
Cypriot limestone	7th c BC	1 male carrying he-goat, and about 20 fragments of males carrying unidentifiable animals [*Samos*. VII. p. 22. Pl. 31; p. 27. Pl. 45; pp. 56-7. Pl. 97]. 4 fragments of females with similar animals [*Ibid*. p. 32. Pl. 58].

(iii) Bones and horns of goats

• Ephesos		
Bones and horns		Horns of 39, and bones of 21 goats [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 280].
• Thasos		
Bones and horns		Numerous bones and horns among ashes [*BCH* 83 (1959) pp. 775-6; 84 (1960) p. 858].
• Delos Artemision		
Bones		Goat-bones in deposit beneath Archaic temple [*DPA* p. 131].

•Kalapodi		
Bones		Bones of kids in Archaic ash-altar [*AA* 95 (1980) pp. 64-5].
•Thermon		
Bones		Kid-bones in Megaron B [*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 248].
•Halieis		
Horns		Numerous horns [*ADelt* 29 (1973-4) B² *Chr.* p. 263].
•Dreros		
Horns		Numerous horns (mostly young, left) inside and outside altar [*BCH* 60 (1936) pp. 241, 243-4].
•Knossos		
Bones	Minoan/ Geometric	Numerous [Coldstream. p. 177].
•Cnidus		
Bones		Some goat-bones [Newton. *History*. II. p. 390].
•Isthmia		
Bones		Some goat-bones [Broneer. *Isthmia*. I. p. 56].

11. Hares

(i) Figurines and engravings

• Artemis Orthia		
Bone seal	750-650 BC	At least 1 with a hare [*AO* Plate 143.1].
Lead rings	7th & 6th cs BC	Some with hare-*motif* on bezels [p. 256. Fig. 118.h].
• Delphi		
Ivory	Archaic	1 disc stamped with hare [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 210-11. no. 725. Fig. 920].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 hare (appliqué) [De Ridder. 463. Fig. 125].
• Perachora		
Ivory/bone seals	7th c BC	6 with hares [*Perachora*. II. p. 422 A.53; p. 429 A.89-90; p. 430 A.101-2; p. 432 A.111].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	2 with hares [*Ibid*. p. 501 D.508 & 509. Fig. 36].
• Argive Heraion		
Paste	Archaic	1 hare (figurine) [Waldstein. II. p. 373. Pl. 144.54].
• Aphaia		
? Terracotta	Archaic	1 couchant hare [Furtwängler. p. 380].
Steatite cylinder-seal	Archaic	1 hare hunted by hound [p. 434. Pl. 118.35].
Brick	Archaic	1 stamped twice with running hare [p. 384. Pl. 111.7].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	2 hares [*OlForsch* XII. 929-930].
	Archaic	1 leaping hare [*Olympia*. IV. p. 153].
• Dodona		
Bronze		1 running hare (from vase) [Carapanos. p. 37. Pl. 20.3].

(ii) Plastic terracotta vases

• Kalapodi	Archaic	1 hare-vase [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 79. Fig. 54.2].
• Bassai	Archaic	1 hare-vase [*AE* 1910 p. 290. Fig. 10.6].
• Maleatas	Hellenistic	Hare-shaped lamps, unenumerated [*PAE* 1979 p. 128].
• Lindos	Archaic	3 hare-vases [*Lindos*. I. 1934-6].
• Sounion	Archaic	Hare-vases (unenumerated) [*AE* 1917 pp. 209-10. Fig. 20].
• Perachora	L 7th or 6th c BC	3 crouching hare-vases [*Perachora*. I. p. 236. Pl. 106].
• Delos Heraion	Archaic	1 hare-vase [*Delos*. XXIII. no. 183. Pl. 21].
• Acrocorinth	E 6th c BC	1 hare-vase [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 18. Pl. 7.b].
• Aphaia	Archaic	3 whole and fragments of 5 hare-vases [Furtwängler. p. 382-3. nos. 92-4. Pl. 111.13].
• Kalauria	Archaic	2 small hare-vases [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 322. Fig. 38].

(iii) Females carrying hares

• Brauron		
Marble statuette	4th c BC	1 *arktos* with hare [*Ergon* 1958. Fig. 38].
• Kanoni		
Terracotta figurines	? E Classical	20 (large) females holding hare and bird [*BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 55-6]. 3 (large) females holding hare and lion [p. 66. Pl. 2.4]. 2 (large) females with hare leaping from shoulder to arm [pp. 67-8. Fig. 9]. "Some" (smaller) holding hare against breast [p. 32]. 4 (similar) holding bow and hare [p. 38]. 20 (similar) holding hare by front paws, and fruit [p. 38. Pl. 2.3].

[Le Chat regards all these figures as representations of Artemis, except for the indeterminate number holding a hare against their breast.]

• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th or 3rd c BC	5 females (huntresses) holding hare [*NSc* 1900 p. 368 & p. 371. Figs. 13 & 21.1 & 3].
• ? Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	E Archaic	1 ? hare-holder (and 20 fragments) [Waldstein. II. p. 35. Pl. 46.7].
• Samos		
Marble statue	*c* 570 BC	1 headless *kore*, holding hare [Buschor. Figs. 340-344].
• Knossos		
Terracotta	Hellenistic	1 (miniature) girl with hare [Coldstream. p. 75. Pl. 50.129].
• Halicarnassus		
Terracotta	L 5th c BC	1 female with hare [Higgins. no. 386. Pl. 57].

(iv) Bones of hares

• Mt. Kotilon	Hare bones from North temple [*AE* 1903. p. 179].
• Lindos	Some hare-bones reported [*Lindos*. I. pp. 12, 183-4].
• Knossos	Bones of one hare reported [Coldstream. p. 178].

12. Horses

(i) Horses (alone, or occasionally led)

- Artemis Orthia

Bronze	Geometric	At least 9 horse figurines [*AO* p. 197. Pl. 76-79].
Terracotta	740-500 BC	58 horses [p. 157. Pl. 41.1-6].
	E 7th c BC	3 small horse-protomes in profile [p. 149].
	6th c BC	1 fragment of large horse-head [p. 158. Pl. 42.6].
Limestone	*c* 600 BC	6 horses in the round [pp. 189-90]. 18 horses in relief [pp. 190-192. Pl. 66-68].
Lead I-IV	700-500 BC	(1) Unenumerated horse-figurines (8 types) [p. 262. Pl. 184.1-3; p. 269. Pl. 189.16-17; p. 276. Pl. 194.20-3]. (2) Unenumerated double horse-head pendants (11 types, 2 of which show female figure between the heads) [p. 266. Fig. 123; p. 271. Pl. 194.37 & 40]. (3) Some bezels of lead scarab rings engaved with horses [p. 225. Fig. 118.g].
Ivory figurines	8th & 7th cs BC	2 horses' heads [p. 240. Pl. 169.1 & 2; p. 242. Pl. 173.3].
Ivory comb	660-625 BC	1 with two opposing horses trampling a man [pp. 223-6. Pl. 128.2].
Bone plaque	*c* 600 BC	2 (heraldic) rearing horses on separate halves of plaque [p. 215. Pl. 112.1].
Vitreous paste	7th c BC	1 box engraved with horse's head [p. 385. Pl. 206.5].

- Ephesos

Ivory	Archaic	1 horse's head, 1 forepart wearing necklace [Hogarth. pp. 164-5. Pl. 26.10].
Gold plaque	Archaic	1 with ? horse (or boar) [*Ibid*. p. 110. Pl. 8.8].
Gold brooch	Archaic	1 horse-head shaped brooch [*Ibid*. p. 97. Pl. 3.2].
Limestone	Archaic	Fragments of horses in altar area, 1 over life-sized [*AS* 19 (1969) p. 17; *AA* 87 (1972) p. 715].
Paste scarab	Archaic	1 with horse [Hogarth. p. 205. Fig. 43.13].

- Kalydon

Terracotta		Horses, and hoofs from others (unenumerated) [Dyggve. p. 345].

• Lousoi		
Bronze	8th c BC	2 horses on one stand [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 48. Fig. 63]. At least 2 separate horses [Sinn. p. 30. Fig. 6]. At least 2 groups mare and foal [*OlForsch* XII. p. 105. Fig. 6].
• Thasos		
Rock crystal scarab	6th c BC	1 with horse (and man) [*BCH* 102 (1978) p. 827. Fig. 35].
• Delos (Artemision)		
Terracotta	Geometric	6 horses [*Delos*. XXIII. nos. 11-14, 16-17]. 1 horse's head [*Ibid*. no. 26].
Ivory plaque	Mycenean	1 horse [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) p. 173. Pl. 28.8].
• Paros		
Terracotta	Geometric	Forepart of 1 ? horse [Rubensohn. p. 168. no. 98].
• Knakeatis		
Bronze	Geometric	Unenumerated horse-figurines [*AE* 1952 p. 27. Fig. 20.5].
• Kombothreka		
Terracotta	Geometric	6 horses [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 67. nos. 3-8. Pl. 8.4-7].
• Kalapodi		
Bronze	Geometric	1 horse [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 59. Fig. 31].
• Pherai		
Bronze	7th & 6th cs BC	19 horses [Bequignon. p. 67. Pl. 19.2-4].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th or 3rd c BC	2 horses [*NSc* 1900 p. 372].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	30 horses (and 22 fragments) [*FdD* V.2. 46-63; 65-98].
	Archaic	3 horses [*Ibid*. 184-186].
	5th c BC	1 fragmentary horse [*Ibid*. 244. Fig. 467].
Bronze appliqué	Archaic	1 horse [*FdD* V (1908) p. 125. no. 678].
Bronze attachment	Archaic	1 heraldic pair of horse-protomes, decorating bridle or vessel [*Ibid*. p. 131. no. 705. Fig. 488].

• Bassai		
Bronze	Geometric	1 horse [*XI International Congress*. Pl. 41.b].
• Maleatas		
Terracotta	Archaic	Unenumerated horses [*PAE* 1908 p. 108.
• Ptoion		
Bronze	Geometric	2 horses [Ducat. p. 59. Pl. 12.39 (from tripod); p. 62. no. 41a. Fig. 21].
• Amyclai		
Bronze	Geometric	Unenumerated horses [*AE* 1892 p. 12].
Sheet bronze		1 horse, and 1 protome [*Ibid*. p. 17. Pl. 3.6].
• Thermon		
Bronze	Geometric	Unenumerated horses [*AE* 1900 p. 178]. 1 pair of horses on a single base [National Archaeological Museum, Athens].
• Kynouria		
Bronze	E 5th c BC	1 horse (from vase) [*PAE* 1911. p. 273. Fig. 13].
• Kato Phana		
Bronze	Archaic	1 protome with foreleg [*ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 208].
• Corinth (Apollo)		
Terracotta	7th or 6th c BC	"Several" horses [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) pp. 150-1. Pl. 60.11-12.

• Lindos		
Bronze	Geometric *pre*-550 BC	1 horse [*Lindos*. I. 1570]. 1 horse-protome from vase [744].
Terracotta	Archaic - 400 BC	About 18 horses [1806-7; 1890-1; 1985-6; 1979-81; 2402-3; 2413e].
Plastic vases	525-400 BC	2 fragments of mule's head *rhyton* [2724]. 1 horse-head *alabastron* [2402].
Faience scarabs	*pre*-550 BC	5 with horses [1443-6].
Ivory plaque	Archaic	1 horse (led by man) [685].
Marble	Hellenistic	Head of 1 horse [*Lindos*. III. p. 552. Figs. 21-24].

• Acropolis		
Bronze	Geometric	2 groups mare and foal [De Ridder. 480-1. Figs. 139-140]. 18 single horses (including stallions) [482-499].
	Archaic	1 galloping pair (supporting plaque) [503. Fig. 155]. 1 horse's head [505. Fig. 157]. 9 single horses [500-2; 504; 506-10].
Bronze vase-handles	Archaic	4 decorated with horse-protomes [147-8. Fig. 21; 197. Fig. 36; 212. Fig. 46].
Terracotta	Geometric	4 horses and 2 fragments [*Catalogue*. II. p. 430]. A few more from North slope [*Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 196].
Terracotta relief	*c* 500 BC	Part of galloping horse [*Catalogue*. II. p. 423].
Marble	490-480 BC	1 horse (without rider) [Payne. Pl. 139].
Marble reliefs	4th c BC Archaic	1 horse [*Catalogue*. II. p. 255]. 1 fragment horse's head [Payne. Pl. 128.2].
Statue-base reliefs		2 with horses [Walter. *Beschreibung*. p. 200. nos. 403 & 404.A].
• Athena Pronaia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 large horse, and forepart of another [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 49-50. nos. 134 & 138. Figs. 157-8].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	4 horses [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 346. Fig. 6.8 & 9].
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 stamped with neck and mane [p. 346].
Terracotta	Geometric or Archaic	About 6 horses [p. 426. Figs. 59 & 63].
• Sounion (Athena)		
Bronze	Archaic	Unenumerated horses [*AE* 1917 p. 207. Fig. 17].
Terracotta		Unenumerated (most numerous of animals) [p. 208].
Plastic vases	6th c BC	Unenumerated horses [p. 209-10; Fig. 20].
Engraved steatite		1 with horse [p. 212].
• Sparta (Chalkioikos)		
Bronze	Geometric 4th c BC	2 horses [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 150]. 1 horse [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 91. Fig. 4.20].
Terracotta	Archaic	3 striped horses [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 76. Fig. 2.2-4].
	Archaic	Other horses, unenumerated [*Ibid*. pp. 77 & 80].

		1 striped ? donkey [*Ibid.* p. 78. Fig. 2.5].
Terracotta relief	6th c BC	1 horse-protome [*Ibid.* p. 80. Fig. 2.16].
Lead	6th c BC	1 horse [*BSA* 26 (1923-5) p. 248].
• Philia		
Bronze	Geometric	"Almost none" [*ADelt* 19 (1964) B². p. 247].
• Halai		
Terracotta	? Geometric or later	1 horse [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 476. no. 68].
• Gortyn		
Bronze	Geometric (probably)	1 horse's head (pin-head) [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 231. Fig. 35].
Terracotta		Unenumerated (4 illustrated). Most frequently represented animal (p. 258) [p. 233. Fig. 26].
• Perachora		
Bronze	Geometric	7 horses [*Perachora*. I. p. 126. Pl. 37].
Terracotta	Geometric-Archaic	Fragments of 32 [*Ibid.* p. 229. no. 169].
Engraved stone	Geometric	1 horse (with man) [*Perachora*. II. p. 453. B.12].
• Samos		
Bronze	Geometric	2 horses, 1 with bird on back [*Samos*. VIII. p. 85. Pl. 85; *AM* 74 (1959). p. 16. *Beil.* 27.1].
Terracotta	9th c - 6th c BC	About 30 horses reported [*AM* 65 (1940) Pl. 48; 52; 53; 57-9]. 1 mule [*Ibid.* p. 90. note 1; Buschor. Fig. 221].
Bronze bridle-parts	L Hittite	4 are formed with leaping horses [*Samos*. VIII. Pl. 61.508; 756; 895; 1215].
Bronze ? sceptre-top	(Luristan)	1 pair heraldic horses [*Ibid.* p. 75. Pl. 75. 1211].
Wood	Archaic	9-10 stools with sides in form of horse-protomes [*AM* 95 (1980) p. 120; p. 107. Pl. 26. Figs. 3 & 4; p. 110. Pl. 28.1-4. Fig. 5; p. 112. Pl. 29.1. Fig. 6; *AM* 68 (1953) p. 89. *Beil.* 22-7. Fig. 3].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Geometric Archaic	10 horses (including 2 stallions) 1 horse [Waldstein. II. pp. 197-200. Pl. 72-4].

Terracotta	Geometric	1 horse [p. 25. Pl. 48.13].
	Archaic	1 loaded horse; 1 horse's head [p. 41. Pl. 48.8 & 10].
Engraved stones	pre-Geometric	4 have horses [p. 347. nos. 9-12].
• Tiryns		
Terracotta		1 loaded horse [Frickenhaus. p. 84. Fig. 24].
• Delos (Heraion)		
? Terracotta	Archaic	2 hindquarters of ? horses [*Delos*. XXIII. no. 185-6. Pl. 21].
• Eleusis		
Marble	Hellenistic	Large horse-protome with acanthus collar [*BCH* 82 (1958) pp. 435-65. Figs. 1-3].
• Acrocorinth		
Terracotta	6th c BC	Unenumerated horses [Hesperia 34(1965) p. 18].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Limestone statue	? Hellenistic	1 horse's head (half life size) [*AJA* 79 (1975) p. 39. Pl. 7. Fig. 14].
• Aphaia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 horse [Furtwängler. p. 391. Pl. 113.2].
	Mycenean	Fragment of 1 horse [p. 314. Pl. 109.2].
	Archaic	1 horse, 1 horse's head [p. 378. Pls. 108.23 & 111.17; p. 383. Pl. 108.24].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 horse-protome [p. 383. no. 97].
Paste scarabs	Archaic	1 horse (with 2 men) [p. 433. Pl. 118.28].
• Lato		
Terracotta	Archaic	"Several" horses [*BCH* 53 (1929) p. 415. Figs. 27c & 28a].
• Prinias		
Terracotta	Geometric	Headless striped horse [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 74].
Limestone relief (architectural)	7th c BC	Horse engraved on skirt of seated female [*Ibid*. pp. 56-7. Fig. 21.C.2].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	Nearly 1600 horses including fragments [*OlForsch* XII. p. 185]. (440 catalogued [*Ibid*. pp. 199-271 *passim*] 1 horse with cock on hind quarters. no. 947.)
	Archaic	5 horses and 7 fragments [*Olympia*. IV.935-6]. 1 horse-protome [*Ibid*. 951].
	5th c BC	1 large bridled horse [*OlBer* III. Pl. 59-64].
Cut-out bronze	Archaic	3 horses [*Olympia*. IV. 731-2].

Bronze protome-attachments	Archaic	5 horse-protomes (single and double [*Ibid.* 875-6; 878; *OlForsch* XI. p. 198. Pl. 83.4].
Bronze reliefs	Geometric	1 horse in tripod-leg zone [*OlForsch* X. Pl. 32.116a].
	Archaic	1 pair heraldic horses in shield-band zone [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 42.15a].
	Archaic	1 horse (and dog) in tripod-leg zone [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109. Pl. 145.a].
Bronze seal-ring	Classical	1 with horse (and lion) [*OlForsch* XIII. 574].
Bronze *fibula*-plaque	7th c BC	1 zone engraved with horse [*OlForsch* XIII. 1014].
Terracotta	Geometric-Archaic	34 horses, some fragmentary [*OlForsch* VII. 53-55; 61; 66-9; 75-6; 81-94; 102-106; 238-42].
• Dodona		
Bronze	L Geometric	4 horses [*Ergon* 1958 p. 95. Fig. 99; *PAE* 1958 p. 105. Pl. 83b; Athens Museum 640, 645-6].
	Archaic	1 mare (appliqué) [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 21.1].
Bronze vase-attachment	Archaic	1 horse-protome [*Ep. Chr.* 10 (1935) p. 230.8. Pl. 19.b.14].
Bronze ring		1 bezel decorated with horse (chasing doe) [*Ibid.* p. 36. Pl. 19.1].
• Nemea		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 miniature horse [*Hesperia* 48 (1979) p. 81. Pl. 25.c].

• Isthmia		
Bronze	6th c BC	2 heads (? from relief plaque) [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 329. Pl. 69]. Figurines of horses [Museum].
Terracotta	Archaic	Horses (unenumerated) [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 338. Pl. 73.b.3].
Fresco	Archaic	Mane of horse on fragment of orthostat block [*AA* 85 (1970) p. 35].
• Kalauria		
Bronze	L Geometric	1 stallion [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 308. Fig. 25]. 1 small horse-head attached to ring [p. 314].
Terracotta	Geometric	Fragments of 2 horses [pp. 316-17].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	About 30 sides (or fragments) depict horses alone [*Beschreibung*. 566-86; 782; 928-9; *Jdl* 12 (1897) pp. 41-48. nos. 150, 156, 158, 160-163].

(ii) Riders of horses

(a) Females (seated sideways)

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	700-500 BC	6 female riders, some naked [*AO* pp. 150-1. Pl. 33.7, 8 & 10]. 8 seated females (probably equestrian) [p. 151. Pl. 34.1-8].
• Lousoi		
Bronze	8th c BC	1 female rider [Sinn. p. 36. Fig. 13].
Terracotta	? Geometric	1 female rider [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) p. 38. Fig. 29].
• Kombothreka		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 female rider [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 70. Pl. 7.5].
• Amyclai		
Terracotta	? Archaic	Fragment of 1 female rider [*AM* 52 (1927) p. 43].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric	1 female rider [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 354. Fig. 17.49].
• Perachora		
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 female rider [*Perachora*. I. p. 228. no. 165. Pl. 100].
• Samos		
Bronze	Archaic (Oriental)	1 female rider (holding child) [*Samos*. VIII. p. 80. Pl. 81].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 female rider [Waldstein. II. p. 40. Pl. 48.6].
• Olympia		
Bronze	775-750 BC	1 female rider [*OlForsch* XII. 310].

(b) Males

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	Geometric-Archaic	4 riders astride [*AO* p. 151. Pl. 33.9].
Ivory plaques	8th c & 7th c BC	4 show men on horseback [p. 206. Pl. 92.3; p. 112. Pl. 104.1 & 2; p. 241. Pl. 171.2].
Lead II-IV	635-500 BC	Unenumerated (4 types) [p. 269. Pl. 191.29; p. 276. Pl. 197.40, 41, 45].
• Delos (Artemision)		
Paste scarab	Archaic	1 with horse and rider [Délos XVIII. p. 257. Pl. 91. 692].

• Brauron		
Terracotta	5th c & 4th c BC	At least 3 (and 1 head) [*PAE* 1959 Pl. 11.b; Museum].
	? Geometric-Archaic	1 handmade rider [Museum].
Stone seal		1 with rider [Museum].
• Olympia (? altar of Artemis)		
Bronze	Geometric	1 rider [*OlBer* VIII. p. 218. Pl. 107.4].
• Syracuse		
? Terracotta *akroterion*	*c* 600 BC	Fragments of 1 rider [*MA* 41 (1951) p. 780. Fig. 44].
• Bassai		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 rider [*AE* 1910 p. 299. Fig. 18.1].
• Delphi		
Terracotta		3 riders [*FdD* V (1908) nos. 633-635. pp. 200-1).
• Maleatas		
Terracotta	Archaic	Unenumerated riders [*PAE* 1948 p. 105. Fig. 9; p. 107. Fig. 12; *PAE* 1977 p. 191. Pl. 121.a; *Ergon* 1975 p. 107].
• Koroni		
Terracotta	? Geometric	1 handmade rider (horse missing) [*ADelt* 11 (1916) p. 99. Fig. 48.1].
• Ptoion		
Bronze cut-out relief	Archaic	1 appliqué rider [Ducat. p. 434. no. 317].
• Corinth		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 horse with trace of rider [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 151. Pl. 60.13].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	Archaic	21 fragments (Cypriot) [*Lindos*. I. 1941-44; 1976-8].
	523-400 BC	3 riders [2361-2].
	4th c BC	1 rider and 2 fragments [2923-4].
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	2 riders [1802-3].
Egyptian paste	Archaic	3 riders [1296-8].

• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	2 riders [De Ridder. 751-2. Figs. 259-60].
Terracotta	Archaic	Unenumerated, apparently common [*Catalogue* II. p. 430; *Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 196]. 9 found on North slope [*Hesperia* 4 (1935) p. 196. Figs. 4.o & h; & 5.a & b].
Marble statues	Archaic	Rampin horseman [Payne. Pl. 11]. 5 more horsemen [*Ibid*. Pls. 101, 136.1, 134, 135.1, 137.8]. 1 man riding hippalectron [*Ibid*. Pl. 136.2-3].
Marble relief	5th c BC	1 rider [*Concise Guide*. p. 59. no. 3360].
Parthenon frieze	*c* 440 BC	Youths riding horses [Brommer. *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*. pp. 50-60 & 74-83].
• Tegea		
Terracotta	Geometric/ Archaic	1 handmade rider [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 424. no. 348. Fig. 63].
• Sparta (Chalkioikos)		
Terracotta	Geometric-Archaic	A few [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) pp. 77, 79, 80 & 83. Fig. 3.25].
• Elateia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 horse with trace of rider [*BCH* 12 (1888) p. 47].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta		1 fragmentary rider [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 258. Fig. 26.b].
• Perachora		
Terracotta	Archaic	8 mounted warriors [*Perachora*. I. p. 228. Pl. 100. no. 166]. 8 other riders [*Loc. cit*. nos. 167-8. p. 248. Pl. 111. no. 267].
Bronze strip	6th c BC	2 have riders as *motif* [p. 147. Pl. 48.6, 10 & 11].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Archaic	1 rider with horse missing [Waldstein. II. p. 194. Pl. 71].
Terracotta	? Archaic	3 mounted warriors and 45 fragments [p. 40. Pl. 48.2-4].
	Archaic	1 Egyptian rider [p. 28. Fig. 47].
• Delos Heraion		
Terracotta		1 rider [*Delos*. XXIII. no. 176. Pl. 21].

• Tiryns		
Terracotta	7th c & 6th c BC	15 mounted warriors [Frickenhaus. p. 83. Fig. 20].
• Samos		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 rider with horse missing [Buschor. Fig. 190-2].
Terracotta		At least 22 riders, Cypriot and local [*AM* 66 (1941) p. 99. Pl. 59; *Samos*. VII. pp. 4-5. Pl. 4; p. 23. Pl. 35; p. 44. Pl. 4 & 83; Pl. 84.1473].
Terracotta relief		1 rider (Cypriot) [*Samos*. VII. Pl. 13.455].
• Eleusis		
Terracotta		2 riders [museum].
• Cyrene		
Marble statue		1 horse and rider [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 172].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 handmade rider [Furtwängler. p. 378. no. 53].
• Prinias		
Limestone relief	7th c BC	Armed horsemen frieze on architrave of Temple A [*AJA* 38 (1934) Pl. 19.B; Boardman. Fig. 32.3].
Relief *pithos*	Geometric	Riders in frieze round the belly of pithos [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 70. Fig. 39] (hunting scene).
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	5 riders [*Olympia*. IV. 255-258].
Bronze seal-ring	Classical	1 ring decorated with rider [*OlForsch* XIII. 576].
Terracotta	Geometric	Fragment of 1 handmade rider [*OlForsch* VII. 230].
Bronze shield-band	Archaic	2 with riders [*OlForsch* II. p. 191. Fig. 2].
Bronze helmet	6th c BC	1 with rider engraved with silver on each cheek-piece [*OlBer* VIII. pp. 127-130. Pl. 66-68].
• Dodona		
Bronze		3 riders [Carapanos. pp. 31-2. Pl. 11.3; 12.2 (& *PAE* 1956 p. 154. Pl. 58b & 59a); 13.1].

• Nemea		
Terracotta	Various dates	3 riders [*Hesperia* 50 (1981) p. 64-5. Pl. 23.g & 25.f; 52 (1983) p. 74]. Nearly 100 fragments of the same [*Hesperia* 50 (1981) p. 55. Pl. 16.b].
Bronze strigil		Stamp of horse and rider [p. 51. Pl. 14.b & d].

• Isthmia		
Terracotta	Archaic	At least 8 riders [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 139. Pl. 56a; *Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 338. Pl. 73.b. 2, 4 & 5].
• Kalauria		
Kalauria	? Geometric	2 small mounted warriors [*AM* 20 (1895) pp. 316-7. Fig. 33].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	Over 90 sides depict a rider, who is often Poseidon [*Beschreibung*. 539-565; 587; 789-795; 847-?8; 855-864; 865-867; 871-883; 907-8; 3922-4; *Jdl* 12 (1897) pp. 41-48. nos. 42-48; 120; 151-2].

(iii) Chariots, teams and drivers

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 with chariot procession [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 106. Fig. 7].
Terracotta reliefs	8th c BC	? 2 with possible chariots [*AO* p. 154.3 (Pl. 39.1); 5 (Pl. 39.2)].
Ivory plaques	7th & 6th cs BC	2 with chariots [p. 217. Pl. 116.1 (winged) & 116.2].
Bone plaque	6th c BC	1 with chariot (winged) [p. 218. Pl. 116.3].
Ivory comb	? 6th c BC	1 with charioteer and horse [p. 223. Pl. 130.2].
? Lead pendants	700-500 BC	Some depicting female between 2 horse protomes [p. 266. Fig. 123.c & e] could stand for chariots of Orthia [*Potnia Theron*. p. 157].
• Thasos		
Ivory	Archaic	Fragment of horse-team [*BCH* 84 (1960) pp. 857 & 862. Fig. 3].

• Ephesos		
Ivory	Archaic	1 wheel, and fragment of 1 [Hogarth. p. 168-9. Pl. 27.2]. Fragment of chariot-pole [p. 169. Pl. 27.12].
Wood	Archaic	1 fragment chariot-wheel [p. 168-9].
• Brauron		
Terracotta	? Geometric	2 handmade horse-teams [Museum].
Marble relief		1 fragmentary scene with chariot (? of Artemis) [*Ergon* 1958 Fig. 35].
• Kombothreka		
Terracotta	Geometric	9 charioteers [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 68.32-40. Pl. 7.1-2; 8.1-2]. 1 team-horse [Pl. 8.3]. Over 20 fragments of chariots and wheels [Pl. 10.6-10].
• Pherai		
Bronze	7th c & 6th c BC	1 pair joined horses from chariot [Bequignon. p. 67. Pl. 19.1].
• Nas		
Terracotta plaque		Athena in chariot [*PAE* 1939 p. 154. Fig. 17].
• Delphi		
Bronze statue	Archaic	Charioteer [*FdD* IV. 1. Pl. 49-50].
Temple pediment	c 610 BC	3 figures (? Apollo, Leto, Artemis) in chariot [*FdD* II (1927) Fig. 23].
• Bassai		
Bronze	? Geometric	Part of harness [*XI International Congress.* Pl. 41.c].
• Ptoion		
Bronze strips	7th & 6th cs BC	2 decorative bronze strips have chariots [*BCH* 16 (1892) Pl. 11; Ducat. p. 330 k & l].
• Dreros		
Relief *pithos*	Archaic	1 *pithos* decorated with chariot [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 264. Pl. 28].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	Archaic	3 fragments of Cypriot chariots [*Lindos*. I. 1982-4]; 1 Greek chariot, with 2 men [1893].
Terracotta relief	525-400 BC	1 chariot [2542].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Geometric/ Archaic	2 charioteers [De Ridder. 695. Fig. 212; 753. Fig. 261].

Marble reliefs	Archaic	2 with chariots [Payne. Pl. 16 & 128.1].
Parthenon frieze	*c* 440 BC	Chariots in sacred procession [Brommer. *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*. Pl. 69-73].
Terracotta reliefs	6th c, E 5th c BC	Over 60 representing Athena Promachos in a chariot [*Catalogue* II. p. 309; *JHS* 17 (1897) p. 313. Fig. 4. Pl. 8.1 & 2].
Relief *pithos*	5th c BC	1 fragment has 2 chariots in relief [*Ibid.* p. 311. no. 68].

• Perachora		
Bronze	Archaic	1 wheel (and fragments of others) may have been part of chariot [*Perachora*. I. p. 176. Pl. 78].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 fragmentary chariot-wheel [p. 229. Pl. 101.177]. 1 horse with harness, and fragments of 4 [pp. 228-9. Pl. 100.169].
Bronze strip	6th C BC	1 zone has chariot [p. 147. Pl. 49.1].
• Samos		
Bronze	8th c BC	2 chariot teams [*AM* 72 (1957) p. 42; *AM* 74 (1959) p. 16. *Beil*. 26.1-3].
Bronze relief		7 fragments of 1 chariot scene [*AM* 83 (1968) pp. 286-8. Fig. 32. Pl. 119-20].
Lamp	1st c AD	Lamp decorated with chariot and pair [*AM* 54 (1929) p. 57. Fig. 51.1].
? Wood	Archaic	The 9-10 stools with sides formed by horse-protomes may be symbols of chariots [*AM* 95 (1980) p. 120; p. 107. Pl. 26. Fig. 3 & 4; p. 110. Pl. 28.1-4. Fig. 5; p. 112. Pl. 29.1. Fig. 6; *AM* 68 (1953) p. 89. *Beil*. 22-7. Fig. 3].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta reliefs	Archaic	3 with chariots [Waldstein. II. pp. 47-8. Pl. 49].

• Knossos		
Terracotta	8th c BC	1 handmade horse for chariot group [Coldstream. p. 90. Pl. 65.260].

• Aphaia		
Bronze plaque	6th c BC	1 chariot-team [Furtwängler. p. 392. no. 32. Pl. 113.10].
Terracotta		1 chariot team and driver [p. 378. Pl. 108.19].

• Prinias		
Relief *pithos*	Geometric	Chariots in hunting frieze on belly of *pithos* [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 70. Fig. 39].
• Olympia		
Bronze	E Archaic	5 charioteers [*Olympia*. IV. 248-251a]. 5 chariot-parts, including wheels with axles, and other fragments [*Ibid*. 252-253]. 2 horse-teams of two, and 6 more horses from pairs [*Ibid*. 254-254a].
Terracotta	Geometric/ Archaic	31 charioteers [*OlForsch* VII. 117; 133-162]. 30 team-horses [*Ibid*. 56-60; 62-65; 70-74; 77-80; 95-101; 107-111]. 20 chariot-parts (including 4 wheels) [*Ibid*. 112-116; 118-132]. 5 chariot-passengers [*Ibid*. 220-224; 227].
Temple pediment	Mid 5th c BC	Chariot-race of Pelops [*Olympia*. III. pp. 114-130. Pl. 18-21].
Mosaic	2nd c AD	Chariot and team as central *motif* in Octagon [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 110. Pl. 147.b].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	Over 50 sides of plaques represent chariots, most with Poseidon and Amphitrite [*Beschreibung*. 493-537. Figs. 11-13; 800-1; *JdD* 12 (1897) p. 41. no. 1]. 3 with Poseidon alone [*Beschreibung*. 796-798]. 1 with Athena [*Ibid*. 764]. 3 (fragmentary) with unidentifiable drivers [*Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 46. nos. 151, 153 & 157].
• Kalauria		
Scarab	Mycenean	1 with armed charioteer (and hippopotamos) [*AM* 20 (1895) pp. 300-1. Fig. 20].

(iv) Remains of horses: bones and teeth

• Ephesos	650-560 BC	Bones of 1 horse at Archaic altar [*Festschrift*. p. 108].
• Kalydon		Some bones and teeth of horses [Dyggve. p. 345].
• Kalymnos	Tooth	1 horse-tooth bound by bronze loop [Newton. *Travels*. I. p. 307].
• Knossos		0.07% of bones are horses (i.e. 8) [Coldstream. p. 178].

(v) The potnia theron with horses

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta pendants	6th c BC	9, representing Orthia's head between 2 horse-heads [*AO* p. 149. Pl. 32.4 & 5].
Ivory pendant	740-660 BC	1, representing Orthia's head between 2 horse-heads [p. 241. Pl. 172.1].
Ivory plaque	7th c BC	1 winged female with horse [p. 214. Pl. 107.1].
? Bone plaque	*c* 600 BC	1 heraldic pair of horses on separate halves of plaque could have flanked a central goddess [p. 215. Pl. 112.1].
Lead pendants I-IV	700-500 BC	At least 2 types of double horse-head pendants show a female figure between the heads [p. 266. Figs. 123.c & e].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 female protome surmounted by two horse-protomes [De Ridder. 454. Fig. 118].
• Gortyn		
Pinax	Archaic	1 fragmentary plaque depicting rearing stallion, with hoof held by human hand [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 261. Fig. 57.d].
• Prinias		
Relief-*pithos*	Archaic	Frieze round the neck of 1 *pithos* has *motif* (three times) of winged *potnia* grasping two horses by a hoof [*ASAtene* (1914) pp. 67-9. Figs. 36-8].
Limestone statue	7th c BC	Seated goddess with horse engraved on skirt [*Ibid*. pp. 59-60. Fig. 21.c.2].
• Lato		
Terracotta plaques	Archaic	3 (and 7 fragments) with winged figure flanked by heraldic horses [*BCH* 53 (1929) 423. Fig. 35. Pl. 30.1 & 3].
• Olympia		
Bronze relief	Geometric	1 zone on tripod-leg shows figure standing on horse [*OlForsch* III. pp. 68-69. Pl. 46; *OlForsch* X. Pl. 33].

(vi) Pegasi

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory plaque	6th c BC	4 winged horses draw chariot [*AO* p. 217. Pl. 116.1].
Bone plaque	6th c BC	4 winged horses draw chariot [p. 218. Pl. 116.3].
Ivory comb	7th c BC	1 winged horse [p. 223. Pl. 126.3].
Lead I-II	7th c BC	Unenumerated winged horses (rare) [p. 262. Pl. 184.4; p. 268. Pl. 189.18].
Lead ring I	7th c BC	Scarab ring with pegasus on bezel [Fig. 118b].
• Lousoi		
Bronze relief	Archaic	Decorative strip with 2 heraldic winged horses [*ÖJh* 4 (1901) pp. 55-6. Fig. 98].
• Brauron		
Bone disc-seal		1 with winged horse [Museum].
Engraved stone		1 with winged horse [Museum].
• Delphi		
Gold plaques	6th c BC	2 zones (on 2 plaques) have winged horses [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 97. no. 24].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	1 winged horse-protome [De Ridder. 504. Fig. 156].
Bronze vase-handles	Archaic	2 with winged horse-protomes [145-6. Figs. 20 & 21].
• Gortyn		
Pinakes	Archaic	Fight between Bellerophon and Pegasos, and Chimaera, "numerose" [*ASAtene* 33-34 (1955-6) p. 261. Fig. 57a; p. 266. Eig. 62].
• Perachora		
Ivory	7th c BC	1 winged horse-protome (? handle) [*Perachora*. II. p. 405. Pl. 172].
Ivory seal	7th c BC	1 has winged horse [p. 420 A.44].
Engraved stone	7th c BC	1 winged horse [p. 452 B.5].
• Argive Heraion		
Engraved stone	Archaic	1 winged horse [Waldstein. II. p. 348. no. 27].

• Samos		
Bronze relief	7th c BC	1 plaque with winged horse [*Samos*. VIII. p. 53. Pl. 49].

• Aphaia		
Engraved stone	7th c BC	1 round Melian steatite engraved with winged horse-protome [Furtwängler. p. 433. Pl. 118.26].

• Olympia		
Bronze shield bands	Archaic	1 zone with heraldic Pegasi [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 58. *Beil*. 3.4]. 1 zone with Pegasos, gorgon and Chrysaor [*Ibid*. Pl. 39].
Bronze ring	6th c BC	1 has ? winged horse [*Olympia*. IV. 1191].
• Dodona		
Bronze	Archaic	1 winged horse from vase [Carapanos. p. 37. Pl. 20.2].
Bronze plate	Archaic	2 handles each flanked by 2 winged horse-protomes [Hammond. p. 430-1; Lamb. *Greek and Roman Bronzes*. Pl. 47.b].
• Nemea		
Bronze ring	? Archaic	1 bezel with winged horse [*Hesperia* 50 (1981) p. 50. Pl. 13.d].

• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	1 fragment with Pegasos [*Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 44. Fig. 18]. 1 with Pegasos and Bellerophon [*Beschreibung*. 909].

(vii) Centaurs

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory plaque	7th c BC	1 man killing centaur [*AO* p. 210. Pl. 101].
Bone plaques	*c* 500 BC	2 with centaur [p. 216. Pl. 112.5].
Couchant animal *intaglio*	8th or 7th c BC	1 base has centaur [p. 234. Pl. 156.7].
Lead I-IV	700-500 BC	Unenumerated (rare) centaurs [p. 262. Pl. 184.21; p. 271. Pl. 197.43 & 44].
• Knakeatis		
Terracotta	? Archaic	1 fragmentary centaur [*AE* 1952 p. 27. Fig. 21.3].

• Pherai		
Bronze	c 700 BC	1 centaur [*RE* Supplement VII. 1006].
• Delphi		
Roman lamp		1 relief of centaur with lyre [*FdD* V (1908) p. 189. no. 527. Fig. 820].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	3 centaurs [De Ridder. 429-30. Figs. 97-8].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta		1 fragmentary centaur [Waldstein. II. p. 40. Pl. 48.11].
Terracotta relief		1 has centaur [p. 47. Pl. 49].
• Perachora		
Ivory seal	7th c BC	1 with centaur [*Perachora*. II. p. 424 A.65].
Bone seal	7th c BC	1 with centaur [p. 414 A.29].
Engraved stones	L Geometric	2 (steatite) with centaurs [p. 453 B.14 & B.17].
Bronze strip	6th c BC	1 zone has ? centaur [*Perachora*. I. p. 147].
• Samos		
Cypriot terra-cotta	6th c BC	1 fragmentary centaur [*Samos*. VII. p. 45. Pl. 88].
• Knossos (Demeter)		
Terracotta	? 5th c BC	1 fragment of centaur [Coldstream. p. 89. Pl. 64.251].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta	? Geometric	1 handmade ? centaur [Furtwängler. p. 377. Fig. 307].
• Dodona		
Sheet bronze		1 fragmentary cut-out centaur [Carapanos. p. 36. Pl. 19.5].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	1 centaur [*Olympia*. IV. 215].
Bronze relief	Orientalizing	1 man (? Herakles) killing centaur [*Ibid*. 696].
• (Kalauria)		
Mycenean scarab		On the other side from the charioteer, a hippopotamos [*AM* 20 (1895) pp. 300-1. Fig. 20].

13. Insects and Arachnids

(i) Bees

- Ephesos

Gold	Archaic	1 bee pinhead [Hogarth. pp. 100-101. Pl. 3.5]. 7 appliqué "bee-stars" [p. 111. Pl. 8].

- Artemis Orthia

Ivory seal	Geometric	1 side has bee [*AO* p. 229. Pl. 168.3].

- Delos Artemision

Gold	Mycenean	1 pendant bee [*BCH* 71 (1947-8) p. 211. Pl. 37.4].

(ii) Flies

- Ephesos

Gold	Archaic	1 fly amulet (pendant) [Hogarth. p. 106-7. Pl. 3.1]. 1 foil ? fly [p. 96. Pl. 7.38].

- Argive Heraion

Bronze seal-ring		1 fly-engraving [Waldstein. II. p. 251. Pl. 89.970].

- (Perachora

Agate scarab	7th c BC at latest	Engraving of unidentifiable insect [*Perachora*. II. p. 455 B.25. Pl. 191].)

(iii) Cicadas and Grasshoppers

- Ephesos

Gold	Archaic	1 cicada brooch [Hogarth. p. 97. Pl. 3.3].

- Kalydon

Terracotta		1 grasshopper [Dyggve. p. 345].

(iv) Beetles

- Lindos

Engraved stones	Archaic	2 (steatite) beetle-engravings [*Lindos*. I. 516 & 519].

• Acropolis		
Terracotta		1 pendant beetle [*Catalogue* II. p. 433].
• Tegea		
Ivory	? Archaic	1 beetle-like animal [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 432. no. 387].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric/ E Archaic	3 beetles [*OlForsch* XII. 948-50].

(v) Scorpions

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory	8th & 7th cs BC *c* 700 BC	Couchant animal base *intagli*. 5 have scorpions [*AO* p. 234. Pl. 156.2; Pl. 159.1 & 5]. 1 seal with scorpion [p. 228].
• Lindos		
Bone disc	*pre*-550 BC	1 scorpion-engraving [*Lindos*. I. 325].
• Acropolis		
Relief *pithos*	5th c BC	1 fragment depicts two chariots, with a scorpion above each [*Catalogue*. II. p. 311. no. 68].
Bronze plaque	Archaic	4 plaques depicting "lord of beasts" have a pair of scorpions above the lions [De Ridder. 371-4].
• Perachora		
Ivory seals	7th c BC	2 have scorpions [*Perachora*. II. p. 412 A.24; p. 419 A.41].
Bronze ring	L Archaic	1 scorpion-engraving [*Perachora*. I. p. 179. Pl. 79.33].
Engraved stones	6th c BC (or earlier)	2 have scorpions [*Perachora*. II. p. 453 B.15 & B.19].
Faience scarabs	750-600 BC	3 have scorpions [pp. 506-7. Pl. 193. Fig. 37].
• Olympia		
Bronze engraving	Geometric	1 scorpion, on base of cock [*OlForsch* XII, 944].

(vi) Spiders

- Artemis Orthia

Ivory	8th c or 7th c BC	Couchant animal base *intaglio*. 1 spider [*AO* p. 235. Pl. 159.1].

- Argive Heraion

Engraved stone	Archaic	1 spider (or crab) [Waldstein. II. p. 348.33].

14. Lions and other beasts of prey

(i) Lions alone

- Artemis Orthia

Bronze jewellery	7th c BC	5 *fibulai* decorated with couchant lion or leonine head [*AO* p. 200. Pl. 87.a & f; 88.k & m; *JHS* 50 (1930) p. 299]. 1 ball-pendant decorated with couchant lion [*AO* p. 200. Pl. 89.h]. 2 or 3 pins with lion's head in centre of disc [p. 200. Pl. 87.d].
Terracotta	7th c BC Undated	1 lion's mask [p. 158. Pl. 42.3]. 1 crouching ? lion [p. 158. Pl. 42.4].
Painted poros stone	6th c BC	Fragment of lion's mane (? pediment) [p. 21. Pl. 5].
Limestone reliefs	*c* 600 BC	2 heraldic pairs of lions in pediment frames [p. 192. Pl. 69.41-2]. 5 seated lionesses [p. 192. Pl. 69.43-47].
Lead I-IV	635-600 BC 700-500 BC	1 solid lead lionshead [p. 268. Pl. 192.1]. Unenumerated lions (several types) [p. 262. Pl. 184.5-10; p. 269. Pl. 187.1-13; p. 277. Pl. 194.6-11].
Lead jewellery	700-600 BC	At least 3 couchant lion ornaments [p. 258. Fig. 122d].
Lead scarab rings I-IV	7th & 6th cs BC	Lions/leopards as *intagli* on bezels [p. 255. Fig. 118.a, c & n].
Ivory couchant beasts	8th c or 7th c BC	1 winged lion [*JHS* 50 (1930) Pl. 11.4].
Relief on base of beasts	8th c or 7th c BC	1 winged lion [*AO* Pl. 159.4]. 1 crouching lion [Pl. 158.5].
Ivory *fibula*-plaques	8th c BC	2 with seated lions [p. 208. Pl. 96.3 & 4].
Large ivory plaque	L 7th c BC	1 pair heraldic lion rampant [p. 215. Pl. 111].
Small ivory plaque	8th c BC	1 couchant lion [p. 240. Pl. 168.5].
Bone cut-out plaque	6th c BC or later	1 couchant lion [p. 217. Pl. 114.3].
Ivory combs	7th c BC	1 or 2 with lions [p. 223. Pl. 128.1 & ? Pl. 129.2].

- Ephesos

Gold	Archaic	1 lion's head pendant [Hogarth. pp. 106-7. Pl. 3.7]. 1 lion's head on horse-shoe brooch [p. 97. Pl. 3.2]. 2 small appliqué plaques with lions (1 winged) [pp. 109-10. Pl. 8.1 & 3].

Ivory	Archaic	2 roaring lions [p. 162. Pl. 21.1 & 3].
Ivory seal	Archaic	1 with panther's head [p. 168. pl. 27.4].
Paste scarabs		2 with lion [p. 205. Fig. 43.17 & 22].
•Delos Artemision		
Ivory plaques	Mycenean	1 (and 1 fragmentary) with lion fighting griffin [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) pp. 174-181. Pl. 29-31].
Marble	Archaic	2 lions [*BCH* 4 (1880) p. 30].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 lion's head (near Artemision) [*Delos*. XXIII. 215].
•Kalydon		
Bronze relief	Archaic	Heraldic lions (for decoration of chest) [Dyggve. p. 345].
Terracotta	Undated	Lions "especially numerous" [p. 344].
•Thasos		
Gold diadem	Archaic	Lions (in relief) as decoration [*Guide de Thasos*. p. 162. Fig. 102].
Gold ring	6th c BC	1 with lion's head [*BCH* 102 (1978) p. 827. Fig. 34].
Plastic vases	Archaic	1 panther; 1 lion's mask [*BCH* 82 (1958) pp. 812-813].
Painting on base of terracotta statuette	Archaic	1 lion [*BCH* 83 (1959) pp. 779-80. Fig. 10].
Ivory (? furniture decoration)	7th c BC 6th c BC	2 lions [*Ibid*. p. 775. Fig. 1]. 1 roaring lion-protome [*Ibid*.]
•Brauron		
Terracotta		1 or 2 lions [Museum].
Stone seals		At least 3 with lion-like beasts [Museum].
Marble lamp	6th or 7th c BC	1 lamp in shape of lion's head [*PAE* 1949 p. 84].
•Mt. Lykone		
Marble & clay	Undated	Lions' heads (function, number unspecified) [*JHS* 9 (1889) p. 273].
•Orchomenos		
Bronze spout		1 lion's head [*BCH* 38 (1914) p. 77. Fig. 5].
•Nas		
Bronze pin	Archaic	1 crouching lion pinhead [*PAE* 1939 p. 131. Fig. 8].

•Samos Artemision		
Terracotta	Archaic	At least 1 lion [*AAA* 13 (1980) p. 309. Fig. 4].
•Olympia altar		
Plastic vase	6th c BC	1 couchant panther [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 108].
•Cyrene		
Bronze	Archaic	1 crouching lion from vase-rim [*Afrlt* IV.10 (1931) p. 196. Fig. 22.3].
•Iasus		
Terracotta	Hellenistic	1 mould of feline shape [*ASAtene* 47-8 (1969-70) p. 511].
•Kalapodi		
Bronze	7th c BC	1 lion-pendant [*AAA* 8 (1975) p. 13. Fig. 20].
•Delphi		
Bronze	Orientalizing	2-3 lions [*FdD* V.2. 155; 161-2].
Bronze vase-attachments	Archaic	4 couchant lions (from craters) [*Ibid.* 192-4; 196]. 5 lions' heads from vases [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 77-8. nos. 333-7. Figs. 265-7]. 5 lions' heads from vase-handles [*Ibid.* pp. 82-3. nos. 374-5. Fig. 283; p. 88. nos. 394-5. Pl. 9.5. Fig. 293; no. 400]. 1 crouching lion from handle [*Ibid.* p. 91. no. 429. Fig. 310].
Sheet-bronze	Archaic	2 fragmentary appliqué lions [*Ibid.* p. 127. nos. 688-9. Figs. 475-6].
Gold	6th c BC	8 small lions' heads (? from necklace) [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 102. no. 43. Pl. 33].
? Ivory	*c* 700 BC	1 fragmentary couchant ? lion [*BCH* 62 (1938) pp. 307-8].
Terracotta *patera*-handle		1 head of lioness [*FdD* V (1908) p. 206. no. 687].
•Amyclai		
Bronze		1 lion from vase [*AE* 1892 p. 12].
Bronze mirror-handle		Double panther-protomes at either end of handle [*AM* 52 (1927) p. 17].
•Apollo Maleatas		
Bronze	7th c BC	1 couchant lion (? from vase) [*PAE* 1948 p. 102. Fig. 8].
Seal	Mycenean	1 with lion [*PAE* 1950 pp. 199-200. Fig. 9].

• Ptoion		
Bronze attachments	6th c BC	2 couchant lions (from vase and *fibula*) [Ducat. pp. 321-3. nos. 189-190. Pl. 104-5]. 1 running lion (handle) [p. 191. no. 117. Pl. 57].
Marble	? 7th c BC	1 lion's head (part of *perirrhanterion*) [p. 83. no. 47d. Pl. 19].
• Kynouria (Apollo Tyritos)		
Bronze *fibulai*	Archaic	2 couchant lions [*PAE* 1911 p. 264. Fig. 7] (1 inscribed to Apollo).
• Koroni		
Bronze	Undated	Small lions' heads [*ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 93].
• Kato Phana		
Stone	Archaic	1 lion's head (uncertain function) [*BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 153].
Bone or ivory seal	L 8th c BC	1 shaped like couchant lion [p. 153. Pl. 33].
Scarabs	650-580 BC	4 with lions [p. 164. Pl. 32.43, 56 & 58; *ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 207. Fig. 27.4]. 1 with heraldic pair [*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 79].
• Naukratis		
Paste	6th c BC	Some lion figurines [*Naukratis*. I. p. 14. Pl. 2.11].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	14 lions [De Ridder. 467-477; Figs. 126-136]. 1 "feline" [478. Fig. 137].
Bronze vase-handles	Archaic	1 with lion [120. Fig. 16]. 1 with heraldic pair [115. Fig. 114]. 3 with crouching lions [207-208; 213; Figs. 42-4]. 14 with lions' masks [131-144. Fig. 18].
Bronze appliqué plaques	Archaic	1 cut-out ? lion [377. Fig. 76]. 1 stamped with lion's head [362]. 3 stamped with heraldic pair [358-60].
Bronze tripod-leg zone		1 with heraldic pair [29]. 1 with leopard [41].
Terracotta	Archaic	5 couchant and 1 standing lion [*Catalogue*. II. pp. 429-30].
Marble	Archaic	1 lion (? of pair) [Payne. Pl. 133.1-4].
• Lindos		
Bronze plaques	Archaic	1 appliqué and 1 cut out relief of lion [*Lindos*. I. 682-3].

Terracotta	Archaic *post*-523 BC	1 lion couchant [1876]. 7 lions [2395-2399 & 2536].
Ivory	Archaic	1 pair lions' heads [1583].
Cypriot lime-stone	Archaic	150 lions [1825-1840].
Engraved serpentine	Archaic	1 lion (on scaraboid) [528].
Faience figurine	Archaic	1 couchant lion [1249].
Faience scarabs	Archaic	3 walking and 3 couchant lions [1436-1440]. 1 faience "scarab" shaped like couchant lion [1387].
Bronze	Archaic	1 winged lion [1577].
(Faience statuettes	Archaic	10 cats [1242].
Faience scarabs	Archaic	4 with cat [1370; 1441-1442.b].)
•(Tegea		
Bronze handle	Archaic	1 decorated with cat's head [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 366. no. 70. Fig. 33].)
• Athena Pronaia		
Sheet-bronze	Archaic	Fragments of 2 appliqué lions [*FdD* V (1908) p. 127. nos. 690-1].
Bronze vase-attachments	Archaic	1 handle decorated with lion's head [*Ibid.* p. 87. no. 393. Fig. 292].
• Sparta		
Bronze	Archaic	4 lions [*BSA* 13 (1906-7) p. 150; 28 (1926-7) p. 89. Fig. 5.12]. 1 lion-protome [*BSA* 26 (1924-5) p. 268. Pl. 22].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 couchant lion [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 80].
• Sounion		
Plastic vase	6th c BC	Fragment of 1 ? lion [*AE* 1917 p. 210. Fig. 20].
Engraved steatite		1 may depict lion [*Ibid.* p. 212. Fig. 21].
• Philia		
Paste scarab	Archaic	1 with lion [*BCH* 91 (1967) p. 703. Fig. 11].
• Halai		
Bronze handles	5th c BC or earlier	1 pair with panther-masks [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 415. Fig. 59].
• Gortyn		
Bronze sheet	Archaic	1 lion-protome [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 239. Fig. 35].

Terracotta figurine	Archaic	1 lioness' head [p. 237. Fig. 32.a].
Cut-out clay plaques	Archaic	"Numerous" protomes of lions or panthers [p. 266. Fig. 70b].
Painted clay reliefs	Archaic	"Numerous" with roaring, standing lion [p. 266. Fig. 63].
Painted plaque	Archaic	1 with standing lioness [Fig. 70.d].

• Perachora		
Bronze	7th c & 6th c BC	5 lions (3 from vases, 1 belt-clasp) [*Perachora*. I. p. 130. Pl. 39 & 40; pp. 136-7. Pl. 43; pp. 138-9. Pl. 44.5 & 6].
Bronze strips	6th c BC	3 with lion [*Ibid*. p. 146. Pl. 48.8; p. 147. Pl. 48.11; p. 148. Pl. 50.1 & 2].
Bronze ring	L Archaic	1 with engraved lion on bezel [p. 179. Pl. 79.38 & 44].
Bronze pinheads	Archaic	3 with lion-head knob [p. 173. Pl. 76.16 & 17 (& Pl. 136.9 & 11)].
Gold earring	"*post*-Archaic"	1 lion's head [p. 185. Pl. 84.40].
Terracotta	Archaic	2 lions [p. 229. Pl. 100. nos. 170-171].
Plastic vases	7th & 6th cs BC	3 lion-protomes [p. 237. Pl. 104 & 105].
Terracotta loom-weight	Archaic	1 painted with two heraldic lions [*Perachora*. II. p. 129. Pl. 48 (1312)].
Ivory relief	7th c BC	1 winged lion [*Ibid*. p. 406. Pl. 172].
Ivory & bone seals	7th c BC	15 with lions [pp. 414-432. Pl. 175-182]. 1 with lions' heads [p. 419 A.41]. 8-9 with winged lions [pp. 418-32. Pl. 177-182].
Engraved stones	8th or 7th c BC	1 seated ? lion (on agate) [p. 452 B.3]. 3 winged lions (on agate, carnelian and jasper [p. 452 B.2, B.4 & B.10].
Coral seal	Archaic	1 seated lion [p. 453 B.18].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	30 with lions [p. 502 D.512-D.541. Fig. 36].
(Egyptian faience	725-640 BC	3 cats [p. 513].)
(Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	18 with cats [p. 499 D.465-482].)
• Delos Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	2 couchant lions [*Delos*. XXIII. 179-180].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Archaic	1 seated lion (on long iron bar) [Waldstein. II. p. 203. Pl. 76.29].
Bronze vase-decorations	Archaic	2 lions' heads [p. 293.2201 & 2204].

Bronze jewellery		1 lion-shaped *fibula*-bow [p. 249. Pl. 88.946]; 1 pinhead (lion's head) [Pl. 84.720]; 1 seal-ring with lion [p. 251. Pl. 89.966].
Terracotta plaques	Archaic	2 (1 with heraldic pair, 1 single lion) [p. 28. Fig. 42; pp. 47-8. Pl. 49].
Ivory discs	Archaic	4 have lions/lioness [p. 351. Pl. 139].
Cylinder seal		1 engraved with lion (and other animals) [p. 350. no. 59].
•Samos		
Bronze	mid-6th c BC	1 forepart of lion (inscribed to Hera) [*AM* 87 (1972) pp. 140-4. Pl. 56].
Cauldron-attachments		2 Urartu lions [*Samos*. VIII. pp. 76-7. Pl. 76-7].
Bronze water-spout	*c* 600 BC	Lion's head (with frog) [*AM* 55 (1930) p. 30. Pl. 1].
Terracotta	*c* 600 BC	Couchant lion (from *kernos*) [*AM* 76 (1961) p. 33. *Beil*. 31.5 & 6].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 lion [Buschor. Fig. 220].
Cypriot lime-stone	645-550 BC	10 lions [*Samos*. VII. p. 65. Pl. 115-117].
Ivory	710-640 BC	2 lions [*AM* 74 (1959) pp. 33 & 35. *Beil*. 85].
		1 springing lion (ornament) [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 136. Pl. 27.30].
	7th c BC	1 lion's head [Buschor. Figs. 214-5].
		1 *phiale* (? N. Syrian) in form of lion's head and human hand [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 69. *Beil*. 118-119].
Ivory seal	E Archaic	1 with pair heraldic couchant panthers [*AM* 72 (1957) p. 47].
Ivory comb	Archaic	2, with lions in decorative frieze [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 34. *Beil*. 86.1; 83 (1968) p. 302. Pl. 137.2].
Steatite *phiale*	? 7th c BC	1, in form of lion's head and human hand [*AM* 74 (1959) *Beil*. 115-117].
Altar frieze	mid-6th c BC	Lions [*AM* 59 (1933) *Beil*. 2.3].
(Egyptian bronze		4 seated cats [*Samos*. VIII. p. 20. Pl. 23; p. 24. Pl. 31].)

•Knossos (Demeter)		
Engraved stones	Minoan	1 haematite with lion's mask [Coldstream. p. 125. Pl. 81.5. Fig. 28.5].
		1 serpentine with recumbant ? lion [p. 127. Pl. 82.8. Fig. 28.8].
		? 1 lion's mask on steatite [p. 126-7. Fig. 28.7].
Terracotta		1 lion's head [? from vase) [p. 91. Pl. 66.270].

• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Gold pendants	Archaic	Small crouching lions, not enumerated, at least 2 [*Expedition* 17 (1974) no. 4. p. 14; *AJA* 80 (1976) p. 171. Pl. 26. Fig. 16].
Bronze	Archaic	Lions, not enumerated [*Ibid*. p. 13].
• Aphaia		
Stamped brick	Archaic	1 with standing lion [Furtwängler. p. 384. Pl. 111.8].
Engraved stone	Mycenean 7th c BC	1 with lion [*Ibid*. p. 432. no. 1. Pl. 118.19]. 1 Melian lentoid with lion [p. 433. Fig. 340].
Paste scarab	Archaic	1 with couchant lion [p. 433. no. 20].
Faience figurines	Archaic	1 couchant lion [p. 387. no. 21. Pl. 112.2]. (3 fragmentary Cats [p. 388].)
• Lato		
Terracotta	Archaic	2 lions' heads [*BCH* 53 (1929) p. 416. nos. 84-5. Fig. 29].
Terracotta vase	Archaic	1 plastic lion's head decoration [p. 417. no. 90. Fig. 32].
• Prinias		
Terracotta		1 lion's head [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 65].
Terracotta relief		1 lion's head [p. 65. Fig. 32].
Limestone reliefs from Temple A	L 7th c BC	Lion engraved on goddess' skirt [pp. 56-7. Fig. 21.c.1-2]. Lions in animal frieze below seated goddess [*Ibid*. Fig. 21.c.1; Boardman. Fig. 32.4].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Archaic	12 lions, some from vases [*Olympia*. IV. 964-5; 967-9; 947-8; *ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109. Pl. 145.b & 146.b]. 1 lion from *fibula* [*Olympia* IV. 966; *OlForsch* XIII. 1135].
Sheet bronze	Archaic	3 lions, 1 panther's head [*Olympia* IV. 715a-716]. 1 large lion's head (repoussé) [*BCH* 84 (1960) p. 718].
Bronze cauldron-protomes	Archaic	8 lion-protomes (and fragments) [*OlForsch* XI. 51-58. Pl. 31-5].
Bronze shield-bands	Archaic	At least 4 zones with heraldic lions [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 8.1g; Pl. 10.2a; Pl. 16.3g & 4a]. 2 zones with heraldic panthers [*Ibid*. Pl. 14.3b; Pl. 20.5a].
Bronze tripod relief	Geometric	1 with heraldic roaring lions [*OlForsch* III. Pl. 63.1].

Bronze seal-rings	Archaic-Roman	2 decorated with lion [*OlForsch* XIII. 574 & 651].
Gold earring	4th c BC	1 with lion's head [*Ibid*. 487].
• Nemea		
Bronze appliqué	4th c BC	1 lion-head (? from chest) [*Hesperia* 52 (1982) p. 87. Pl. 26.d].
• Dodona		
Bronze	Archaic	1 small couchant lion [*Ep. Chr*. 10 (1935) p. 228.5. Pl. 19.a.3]. 1 forepart couchant lion [Carapanos. p. 38. Pl. 20.8]. 1 fragment lion's mane [*PAE* 1932 p. 50. Fig. 3].
Bronze vase-handles	6th & 5th cs BC	At least 4 with lions' masks [Carapanos. p. 88. Pl: 45.4 & 7; *Ep. Chr*. 10 (1935) p. 231.19-20. Pl. 20.b.2 & 4].
Bronze reliefs	Archaic	2 fragmentary lions [Carapanos. p. 36. Pl. 20.7; *PAE* 1929 pp. 116-119. Fig. 8.13].
Gold	Archaic	1 centre-piece of necklace with lion climbing tree [Hammond. p. 438; Jacobsthal. p. 78].
Gold leaf	5th c BC	1 Persian lion [*PAE* 1955 p. 170. Pl. 57.a].
	5th c BC	1 bezel from Persian seal-ring, stamped with lion's head [*Ibid. Loc. cit.*]
• Sounion		
Engraved stones	6th c BC	Some with lion [*AE* 1917 p. 112].
• Isthmia		
Bronze shield-bands	Archaic	2 with heraldic pair of lions [*Hesperia* 27 (1958) p. 35. Pl. 11.c; 28 (1959) p. 329. Fig. 8]..
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	5 single lions [*Beschreibung*. 724; 761; 928-30]. 1 heraldic pair lions [*Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 48. no. 165]. 4 panthers [*Beschreibung*. 722-3; 918; 921]. 1 fragment lion or panther [*Ibid*. 919].
• Kalauria		
Terracotta	Undated	1 fragmentary lion's head [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 305].
Silver-gilt ? pinhead	? Roman	1 small lion's head [*Ibid*. Fig. 23].

(ii) Beasts of prey with their victims

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory	7th c BC	17 couchant lions etc., with victims [*AO* pp. 232-4. Pl. 150-152].
Ivory seal	750-650 BC	Lion attacking bull (*intaglio*) [p. 230.3.c].
• Delos Artemision		
Ivory plaques	Mycenean	4 + 2 fragments (2 lions with deer; 2 lions with ox; 1 lion with ox; 1 griffin with deer; frs) [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) Pl. 26.1-3; Pl. 27.3. pp. 162-169].
Engraved stone	Archaic	2 lions attacking quadruped [*Delos*. XVIII. p. 258. Fig. 293].
• Kalapodi		
Bronze pendant	7th c BC	1 lion and prey [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 59. Figs. 29 & 30].
• Cyrene		
Bronze	E 5th c BC	1 crouching lion with prey (from vase) [*Afrlt* IV. 10 (1931) p. 196. Fig. 22.3].
• Pherai		
Marble relief	Archaic	Lion attacking bull (? *metope*) [*BCH* 48 (1924) p. 482].
• Delphi		
Gold plaque	Archaic	3 zones of long plaque (? edge of ivory statue's robe): lion with fawn (1); lion with stag (2) [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 97. no. 24. Pl. 24-8].
Statue base	6th c BC	2 lions devouring deer, in relief [*BCH* 18 (1894) p. 185].
Marble pediment	520-510 BC	2 lions attacking deer and bull in corners of East pediment [*FdD* II (1927) Fig. 83; Boardman. 203.1 & 2].
Bronze	Orientalizing	2 small lions devouring prey [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 56-7. nos. 181-2. Fig. 178; *FdD* V.2. 156].
• Corinth (Apollo)		
Terracotta relief (? architectural)	L Archaic	Fragment of lion attacking ? bull [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 153. Pl. 61.g].
• Acropolis		
Bronze vase-handle	Archaic	1 with two lions devouring antelope [De Ridder. 149. Fig. 22].
Limestone pediment	6th c BC	2 pediments (fragmentary) show (lion and) lioness attacking bull(s) [Boardman. 190-192].

• Perachora		
Ivory	7th c BC	2 couchant lions with does [*Perachora*. II. pp. 408-10. Pl. 174].
Bone/ivory seals	7th c BC	3 lions with victims (doe, boar, goat) [p. 413 A.26; p. 417 A.35; p. 420 A.47]. ? 1 winged lion with goat [p. 413 A.27].
Jasper seal	*c* 500 BC	1 engraved with lion leaping on a bull [p. 454 B.22].
Lead ring	Archaic	1 with lion and bull [*Perachora*. I. p. 187. Pl. 85.24-5].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 lion attacking bull [Waldstein. II. p. 39. Pl. 48.7].
• Samos		
Bronze engraving	L Mycenean	1 with lion attacking deer [*Samos*. VIII. pp. 40-1. Pl. 37 (694)].
Altar frieze	mid-6th c BC	Beasts of prey with victims [*AM* 58 (1933) pp. 3-4. *Beil*. 3.1.15].
• Prinias		
Relief *pithos*	Archaic	Lion chasing doe [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 70. Fig. 39].
• Olympia		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	Lion attacking ? ibex (from vase) [*BCH* 84 (1960) p. 717. Fig. 6].
Bronze shield-band	Archaic	1 heraldic pair of lions, flanking crouching fawn [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 38.14.b].

(iii) Potnia theron with beasts of prey

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	700-500 BC	9 females with one standing lion against skirt [*AO* p. 149. Pl. 32.1-3].
Ivory figurine	700 BC	1 pair enthroned goddesses with lion beneath throne [p. 221. Pl. 124].
Ivory *fibula*-plaque	8th c BC	1 female holding small lion by back leg [p. 206. Pl. 92.2].
Lead I-II	7th c BC	6 goddesses with two lions [p. 259. Figs. 119-121e]. Goddess with one lion, unenumerated [p. 259. Fig. 122f].

• Ephesos		
Gold plaques	*c* 700 BC	1 (and 1 fragmentary) naked *potnia* with two rampant lions [Hogarth. p. 110. Pl. 3.10; 8.4].
Ivory plaque	*c* 700 BC	1 winged goddess holding two lions by tail [*Ibid*. p. 166. Pl. 26.6].
Stone statuette	"Late"	1 hand, resting on a lion's head [Hogarth. p. 27].
? Stone statues	? 5th c BC	At least 1 colossal *potnia theron* group. (Indicated by 1 lion's head - once attached to another figure- fragments of more large lions' heads, and of 2 colossal female figures) [*JHS* 36 (1916) p. 31; Wood. pp. 258, 261, 248 & 246].
• Delos Artemision		
Marble	*c* 660 BC	? Nikandre's *kore* [*BCH* 3 (1879) Pl. 1; *BCH* 4 (1880) p. 30; Christou. *Potnia Theron*. p. 93; Boardman. 71].
	(Archaic	? 2 lions from similar group [*BCH* 48 (1924) p. 414; *BCH* 4 (1880) p. 30].)
• Kalydon		
Terracotta	L Archaic	Standing goddesses with one lion, unenumerated; seated goddesses with lion in lap, unenumerated [Dyggve. p. 343].
• Brauron		
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 seated goddess with lion in lap [*Lexlc* II "Artemis". 663b].
• Corcyra (Ag. Theodoros)		
Terracotta pediment	6th c BC	Gorgon flanked by panthers [Boardman. 187].
• Kanoni		
Terracotta	E 5th c BC	73 females holding lion (mostly by hind-leg) [*BCH* 15 (1891) pp. 63-6. Pl. 2.4; 4.2; 5.2]. 12 females holding a panther [pp. 62-3]. 2 females (and fragments of 10) with chariot-team of panthers and does [pp. 72-77. Pl. 7.1].
Terracotta reliefs	E 5th c BC	6 standing females, lion seated against skirt [p. 25. Pl. 2.2].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	Hellenistic	1 female (? Cybele) riding panther [*BCH* 85 (1961) p. 923. Fig. 12].

• Kombothreka		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 fragment of lion belonging to *potnia theron* [*AM* 23 (1908) p. 325].
• Claros		
Terracotta		Goddess grouped with lions, unenumerated, undescribed, unpublished [Picard. *Ephèse et Claros*. p. 455].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th c/ 3rd c BC	40-50 females with lions or panthers [*NSc* 1900 p. 370. Figs. 17 & 18].
• Aricia		
Terracotta antefix	*c* 480 BC	Winged (footless) goddess flanked by lions [*ActA* 12 (1941) p. 8].

• Acropolis		
Terracotta	Archaic	2 seated females with lion in lap [*AA* 8 (1893) p. 146; *Catalogue*. II. p. 372].
	Hellenistic	1 similar [Ibid. p. 395].
Limestone pediment	*c* 550 BC	Fragment of ? gorgon, flanked by lions (and snakes) [Boardman. 192].
? Marble *akroterion*	6th c BC	1 (or 2) winged gorgon *akroteria* might be flanked by lions or leopards [*JdI* 43 (1928) p. 88. Fig. 34; p. 89. Fig. 35; also Figs. 3, 4, 5, 14 & 15. *cf* Payne. Pl. 1; 13.1; 15.1-4].
• Lindos		
Terracotta	4th c BC	2 seated females with lion in lap [Lindos I. 288 4-5].
• ? Athena Pronaia		
Bronze tripod-leg	7th c BC	Upper half 1 winged female (? *potnia* with lions) [*FdD* V (1908) p. 60. Fig. 183].
• Tegea		
Gold plaque	Archaic	1 cut-out relief of goddess flanked by lions [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 428. no. 365. Fig. 54].
• Philia		
? Ivory plaque	7th c BC	? 1 female holding lions [*ADelt* 22 (1967) B². p. 296. Pl. 194.d].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 goddess (fragmentary) with one attendant lion [*ASAtene* 33-34 (1955-6) p. 252. Fig. 48.b].
Terracotta plaques	Archaic	2 with naked goddess flanked by two rampant lions [p. 261. Fig. 57.b & c].

• Perachora		
Bronze strip	6th c BC	1 with winged goddess flanked by panthers [*Perachora*. I. p. 146].
Ivory plaque	*c* 600 BC	1 with winged goddess with hand on head of one lion [*Perachora*. II. p. 404. Pl. 172 A.2].
Lead plaques	7th c BC	2 with winged goddesses holding two lions [*Perachora*. I. p. 186. Pl. 85.3 & 4].
• Delos Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 seated goddess, lion on lap [*BCH* 73 (1949) p. 131. Fig. 3].
Marble	Archaic	1 seated goddess, lion on lap [*Ibid*. p. 127. Fig. 1].
• Samos		
Bronze (Syrian)		1 female standing on lion [*Samos*. VIII. p. 67. Pl. 67].
Hittite bronze plaque		1 naked female holding 2 lions' masks [*Ibid*. p. 58. Pl. 52].
Hittite bronze blinkers	6th c BC	2 (and 1 fragmentary) engraved with *potnia* and lions [*Ibid*. p. 59. Pl. 53 & 54].
Marble statue	Archaic	Enthroned female (just over life size), side of arm-rest decorated with small seated lion [*AM* 31 (1906) Pl. 14].
Marble *perirrhanterion*	Archaic	Base of 3 females with 2 lions [*AM* 72 (1959) p. 9. Fig. 6. *Beil*. 6.2 & 7.2; Buschor. Fig. 321].

←

• Olympia		
Bronze reliefs	E 6th c BC	Winged goddess holding 2 lions by the back leg (? from *thymiaterion* base) [*Olympia*. IV. 696].
	c 600 BC	Winged goddess holding 2 lions by front paw [*OlBer* I. p. 88. Pl. 32.3].
Bronze shield-band	Archaic	1 gorgon holding 2 lions by forelegs [*OlBer* III. p. 101. Pl. 33].
? Marble *perirrhanterion*	7th c BC	Daedalic female, holding ? lion's tail, perhaps associated with crouching lion, as base of bowl (Laconian) [*Olympia*. III.pp. 26-9. Figs. 24-29].
(Pediment sculpture	6th c BC	Female holding lion on Treasury of Cyrenians [*Olympia*. III. pp. 20-22. Figs. 18 & 20].)
• Isthmia		
Marble *perirrhanterion*	7th c BC	1 base of 4 caryatids standing on lions and holding tails [*Hesperia* 27 (1958) pp. 24-7; Pl. 10; 11a].

• Penteskouphia		
Pinax	650-500 BC	1 with winged goddess holding beast by tail [*Beschreibung*. 908].

(iv) Potnios theron (or male victim) with beasts of prey

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory plaque	7th c BC	Man between a winged lion (and griffin) [*AO* p. 213. Pl. 105].
(Ivory comb	7th c BC	Small man upside down between 2 sphinxes [p. 223. Pl. 127].)
• Delphi		
Ivory statuette	*c* 700 BC	Master of beasts with 1 lion [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 107. no. 58. Pl. 37].
• Athena Pronaia (Delphi)		
Silver plaque	Archaic	1 with small naked running man between 2 large roaring lions [*FdD* V (1908) p. 125. no. 677. Fig. 466].
• Acropolis		
Bronze plaques	Archaic	5 with small naked running man between 2 large roaring lions [De Ridder. 369-372; *JHS* 13 (1892-3) pp. 256-7. Fig. 25]. (Similar to Delphi plaque.)
• Lindos		
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	Fragments of 5 male lion-tamers [*Lindos*. I. 1772-1776].
• Samos		
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	12 fragmentary male lion-tamers [*Samos*. VII. pp. 57-8. Pl. 99-101].
• Aphaia Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 with small naked running man between 2 lions [Furtwängler. p. 393. 31. Pl. 114. 3].
• Olympia		
Assyrian cylinder-seal	9th-7th cs BC	1 with winged man holding 2 winged lions [*Olympia*. IV. p. 187].
• (Heraion of Olympia)		
? Limestone statue-base	*c* 580 BC	Fragment of a statue base (Hera's cult-statue ?). Restored with a man between two lions [Boardman. Fig. 73].

15. Rams and Sheep

(i) Representations of sheep alone

• Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	740-500 BC	3 rams; 5 couchant ? sheep [*AO* p. 157. Pl. 41.7 & 15].
	Roman	1 head of ? sheep [p. 161. Pl. 46.8].
Limestone relief	*c* 600 BC	1 ram's head [p. 193].
Ivory	820-635 BC	94 couchant rams [*AO* pp. 231-2. Pl. 148; *JHS* 50 (1930) Pl. 11.3].
Amber	7th c BC (or earlier)	1 small couchant sheep [*AO* p. 386].
Paste	7th c BC	1 standing ram [*Ibid.* p. 385. Pl. 206.13].
• Ephesos		
Ivory	Archaic	2 couchant rams, and 1 head of ram [Hogarth. Pl. 26.5 & 8; *AS* 23 (1973) p. 36].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	6th c/ E 5th c BC	Rams, unenumerated [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810].
		1 ram's head [*BCH* 102 (1978) pp. 827-8. Fig. 37].
Plastic vases	Archaic	Rams, unenumerated [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 812].
• Brauron		
Terracotta		1 sheep [Museum].
• Kombothreka		
Bronze	L Geometric	1 couchant ram [*AM* 23 (1908) p. 324].
Terracotta	L Geometric	4 rams, 1 ? sheep [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 67. nos. 15-17].
• Samos Artemision		
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 ram [*AAA* 13 (1980) p. 309. Fig. 4].
• Cyrene		
Bronze handle	Archaic	1 ending in ram's head [*AfrIt* IV (1931) p. 196. Fig. 22.1].
• Kalapodi		
Bronze	E Archaic	1 ram's head surmounting daedalic female protome (from vase) [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 66. Fig. 32].

• Delphi		
Bronze	Geometric	7 rams (2 of which are two-headed) [*FdD* V.2. 113; 114; 116-118; 120-121]. 1 stand with 2 rams back to back [*FdD* V (1908) p. 48. no. 124. Fig. 150]. 1 sheep [*FdD* V.2. 115].
	Archaic	1 fragment of ram [*Ibid.* 243].
Bronze vase-handles		1 handle decorated with ram's head [*FdD* V (1908) p. 83. no. 376. Pl. 14.6].
Terracotta vase-handle		1 ram's head [*Ibid.* p. 206. no. 688. Fig. 900].
Gold plaques	Archaic	2 zones of plaques with rams [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 97. no. 24].
• Delos (Hieron)		
Marble *kouros* base	Archaic	Decorative relief with ram's head (and gorgons) [*BCH* 12 (1888) pp. 470-471].
• Bassai		
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 ram's head [*AE* 1910 p. 290. Fig. 11a].
• Apollo Maleatas		
Terracotta	Archaic	Rams, unenumerated [*PAE* 1974 p. 100. no. 6].
• Ptoion		
Marble	7th c BC	1 ram's head (? from *perirrhanterion*) [Ducat. p. 87. no. 48. Pl. 20].
• Halieis		
Bronze		1 ram's protome attached to spike [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B[1] p. 235].
• Dreros		
Terracotta	L Geometric	Rams' heads, unenumerated [*BCH* 60 (1936) pp. 231-2].
• Kato Phana		
Bronze	Archaic	2 rams' heads (decorative) [*ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 210. Fig. 30].
Scarab	650-580 BC	1 with ram's head [p. 207. Fig. 27.2].
Scaraboid	650-580 BC	1 fragmentary with the same [*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 79].
• Naukratis		
Paste	mid-6th c BC	Rams, unenumerated [*Naukratis*. I. p. 14. Pl. 2.6].

• Lindos		
Terracotta	*post*-525 BC	1 couchant ram; 1 head of ram [*Lindos*. I. 2408; 2413].
Plastic vases	Archaic	8 ram-shaped vases [1919-20].
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	2 fragmentary standing rams [1857]. (3 ram-head figures [1793-5].)
Glass pendant	Archaic	1 ram's head [205].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	2 rams, 1 sheep [De Ridder. 525-6; 529. Figs. 169 & 172]. 2 rams' protomes [527-8. Figs. 170-171].
• Tegea		
Bronze	Geometric/ E Archaic	1 or 2 standing sheep [*BCH* 45 (1921) pp. 347-8. Fig. 2.18 & 19].
Terracotta	Geometric/ E Archaic	1 ? sheep [p. 426. no. 359. Fig. 52].
• Sparta		
Bronze	L Archaic	2 rams [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 90. Fig. 4.17 & 18].
Terracotta	Archaic	Sheep (about 10) [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 80].
Terracotta relief	6th c BC	Fragment showing ram's head [*Ibid*. p. 107. Fig. 12b].
• Athena Pronaia		
Bronze	Classical	1 couchant sheep; 1 hind leg from sheep [*FdD* II. 5. p. 126. Fig. 60.4; *FdD* V (1908) p. 54. no. 170. Fig. 172].
• Halai		
Soapstone	6th c BC	1 couchant ram [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 477. Fig. 151].

• Perachora		
Bronze	Undated	1 ram [*Perachora*. I. p. 137. Pl. 37.2].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 standing ram [*Ibid*. p. 229. no. 174. Pl. 101].
Terracotta vases	L 7th c - 6th c BC	7 seated rams [p. 238. Pl. 106].
Ivory	7th c BC	3 couchant rams, and 1 couchant sheep [*Perachora*. II. pp. 408-10. Pl. 174].
Bone pendant	? Archaic	1 ram's head [*Ibid*. p. 443. no. 308. Pl. 188].
Paste	750-600 BC	1 ram's head [p. 513].

• Delos Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 couchant ram [*Délos*. XXIII. p. 86. no. 178. Pl. 21].
Terracotta vase	Archaic	1 ram's head [p. 86. no. 177. Pl. 21].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Archaic	1 ram [Waldstein. II. p. 201].
Terracotta		1 ram's head [p. 41. Pl. 48.18].
• Samos		
Bronze (Hittite) engravings		2 rams' protomes (on bridles) [*Samos*. VIII. p. 64. Pl. 61.951].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 ram, 2 rams' heads [*AM* 65 (1940) Pl. 62. nos. 908 & 203; p. 90. note 1].
	7th c BC	1 ram's protome [*AM* 76 (1961) p. 56. *Beil*. 33.1 & 3].
Terracotta vases	7th c BC	2 rams, 1 ram's head [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 22. *Beil*. 55.1; p. 68. *Beil*. 113.1 & 2].
	c 600 BC	1 ram's head from *kernos* [*Ibid*. p. 29. *Beil*. 67].
Cypriot limestone	645-500 BC	4 rams [*Samos*. VII. p. 66. Pl. 118 & 120].
Ivory	Archaic	1 ram's head handle [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 302. no. 165. Pl. 137.1].
• Cnidus		
Marble		1 small ram's head [Newton. *History*. II. p. 381].
• Cyrene		
Ivory		1 miniature ram [*AJA* 79 (1975) p. 41].
Glass pendant		1 miniature ram's head [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 174. Pl. 28. Fig. 28].
• Knossos Terracotta		1 ram [Coldstream. p. 91. Pl. 65.266].
• Lato		
Terracotta	Archaic	"Numerous" small rams [*BCH* 53 (1929) p. 415. Fig. 27.a].
		2 rams' heads (vase-decorations) p. 416. nos. 87 & 88].
• Aphaia		
Terracotta vase	Archaic	Fragment of 1 ram [Furtwängler. p. 383. no. 95].
Paste	Archaic	1 walking ram [p. 388. no. 22. Pl. 112.1].

• Olympia		
Bronze	Geometric	3 rams [*OlForsch* XII. 918, 919, 922].
Bronze *hydria*-handle	6th c BC	1 handle decorated with two seated rams [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109. Pl. 145.b].
Bronze helmets	6th c BC	8 helmets with cheek-pieces shaped like rams' heads [*OlBer* VIII. pp. 130-132. Pl. 69-71; pp. 160-183. Pl. 88-95].
Bronze seal-ring	Classical	1 with ram (and armed man) [*OlForsch* XIII. 576].
Terracotta	Geometric/ Archaic	17 rams [*OlForsch* VII. 8-52 *passim*].
• Dodona		
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 fragmentary sheep's head [Carapanos. p. 36].
Bronze vase-handles	7th-6th cs BC	Several decorated with sheeps' heads [Carapanos. Pl. 46.6; Hammond. p. 430; *PAE* 1952. p. 288. Figs. 7-9; *Ep.Chr.* 10 (1935) p. 230.12. Pl. 18.b & c].
• Isthmia		
Marble *perirrhanterion*	7th c BC	2 rams' heads from base of vase (originally 4) [*Hesperia* 27 (1958) Pl. 10 & 11.a].
• Kalauria		
Terracotta	Undated	1 ram's head [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 317].

(ii) Kriophoroi, and sacrificial scenes

• ? Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	7th c BC	1 herdsman carrying ? sheep (handmade) [*AO* p. 157. Fig. 112].
• Ephesos		
Pedestal-relief	? 4th c BC	1 *nike* with sacrificial sheep [*JHS* 34 (1914) p. 79. Fig. 6].
• Delphi		
Marble relief	4th c BC	1 cult-scene showing sheep as sacrificial animal [*FdD* IV.6. pp. 31-40. Figs. 21-24].
Bronze	Geometric	1 man with ram [*FdD* V.2. 43].
• Thasos Pytheion		
Marble	7th c BC	1 colossal *kriophoros* [*Guide de Thasos*. p. 55. Figs. 51-53; *BCH* 47 (1923) p. 539. Fig. 10].

•Lindos		
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	About 15 male sheep-carriers [*Lindos*. I. 1721-1738; 1747]. 1 male accompanied by standing ram [1760]. 2 females with lamb in arms [1768; 1764].
Paste	Archaic	1 *kriophoros* [1272].
•Gortyn		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 *kriophoros* [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 287. Fig. 81].
•Acropolis		
Parthenon Frieze	*c* 440 BC	Sheep led in sacred procession [F. Brommer. *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*. London. 1979. Pl. 66].
Dedicatory marble reliefs		At least 3 depicting sheep as sacrificial victim [Walter. *Beschreibung*. p. 107. nos. 228, 229, 231].
•Perachora		
Terracotta	L. Archaic	1 *kriophoros* [*Perachora*. I. p. 227. Pl. 99.150].
•Samos		
Cypriot terra-cotta	*c* 600 BC	1 fragmentary *kriophoros* [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 32. *Beil*. 75.2; *Samos*. VII. p. 22. Pl. 31].
Cypriot limestone	7th c BC	3 male *kriophoroi* [*Samos*. VII. pp. 56-7. Pl. 97] (fragments of similar statuettes with unidentifiable animals [*Ibid*. p. 22. Pl. 31; p. 27. Pl. 45; p. 32. Pl. 58]).
•Knossos		
Terracotta	E 5th c BC	1 *kriophoros* [Coldstream. p. 87. no. 234. Pl. 62].

(iii) Bones of sheep

•Ephesos		Bones of at least 6 sheep by altar [*AJA* 80 (1976) p. 280; *Festschrift*. p. 108].
•Delos Artemision		Sheep bones found beneath the Archaic temple [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) p. 207].
•Kalapodi	E Archaic layer	Bones of lambs [*AA* 95 (1980) pp. 64-5].
•Lindos		Bones of sheep [*Lindos*. I. p. 12. pp. 183-4].
•Cyrene (Demeter)		Bones of sheep (less numerous than pig) [*AJA* 85 (1981) p. 24].
•Isthmia		Bones of sheep [Broneer. *Isthmia*. I. p. 56].

16. Snakes and gorgons

(i) Representations of snakes (apart from jewellery)

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory	740-660 BC	1 pierced snake's head [*AO* p. 240. Pl. 170.2].
Bone	7th-6th c BC	2 snakes' heads (1 pierced, 1 bearded) [pp. 242-3. Pls. 173.2; 174.13].
Bases of bronze statuettes	Geometric	The base of these statuettes "often shows a snake in open work" [*AO* p. 197].
• Ephesos		
Gold	7th or 6th c BC	1 snake [Hogarth. p. 115. Pl. 7.16].
• Thasos		
Terracotta	L Archaic	1 snake [*BCH* 82 (1958) p. 810].
• Lousoi		
Bronze key		1 inscribed snake-shaped key [*OlForsch* XIII. p. 24. note 113].
• Kombothreka		
Terracotta	L Geometric	46 fragments of snakes [*AM* 96 (1981) p. 69. Pl. 10.1-5].
• Mt. Kotilon		
Bronze	Undated	1 small snake (from South temple) [*AE* 1903 pp. 177-8. Pl. 12].
• Delphi		
Bronze		1 snake (? from gorgoneion) [*FdD* V (1908) p. 44. no. 92].
Bronze handles		3 vase-handles decorated with snakes [*Ibid.* p. 74. no. 297. Fig. 245; p. 88. no. 396. Fig. 294; p. 91. no. 429. Fig. 310].
• Maleatas		
Bronze	Undated	2 snakes [*PAE* 1974 p. 100. Fig. 80.e].
Terracotta	6th c BC	1 ? snake [*PAE* 1950 p. 202. Fig. 13].
• Ptoion		
Bronze water-spout	Archaic	1 snake-protome [Ducat. p. 425. Pl. 147].
• Amyclai		
Bronze		1 snake's head [*AE* 1892 p. 12].

• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	10 snakes (1 very large), and fragments of 2 [De Ridder. 544-553. Figs. 181-2, 571-2]. 17 snake-protomes (including some from cauldrons) [554-570. Figs. 183-6].
Bronze bowl-handles	Archaic	1 with two, and 1 with four snake-heads [209-210. Fig. 45].
Terracotta	? Archaic	1 snake's head [*Catalogue*. II. p. 429. no. 286].
Limestone pediment	*c* 550 BC	1 snake in each corner [Boardman. Fig. 192.2].
• Tegea		
Terracotta vase-relief	Geometric	2 fragments of 1 large vase, decorated with snake in relief [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 406. no. 249. Fig. 52].
• Lindos		
Bronze handle	Archaic	1 handle ending in snake-head [*Lindos*. I. 732].
• Athena Pronaia		
Bronze	Archaic	1 fragment of snake [*FdD* V (1908) p. 44. no. 93].
Bronze handle	Archaic	1 decorated with snake-heads (and lion, owl) [*Ibid*. pp. 87-8. no. 393. Fig. 292.a].
• Halai		
Terracotta crater	Archaic	1 crater decorated with plastic snake [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 411. Fig. 40].
• Gortyn		
Pinax	Archaic	1 fragmentary example depicting a snake [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 272].

• Perachora		
Plastic vase	7th or 6th c BC	1 fragment of snake-vase [*Perachora*. I. p. 239. Pl. 106].
• Argive Heraion		
Bronze	Geometric	1 snake, and 1 snake's head spout
Bronze	Archaic	2 snakes (1 from vase spout) [Waldstein. II. p. 204. Pl. 76.32-35].
Bronze jug-handle		1 miniature snake's head [p. 286. Pl. 117. 2022].
Terracotta		1 snake's head [p. 41. no. 254. Pl. 48.24].
Engraved stones	pre-Geometric	2 with snake [p. 347.21; p. 348.33].
Cylinder seal		1 with snake (and lion, eagle) p. 350.59].

• Samos		
Bronze relief	E Archaic	1 fragment (sheet-bronze) with bearded serpent [*AM* 74 (1959) p. 32. *Beil.* 74.2].
Bronze cauldron-attachment	Archaic	1 snake-protome [Buschor. Fig. 211].
Plastic vase	7th or 6th c BC	1 scaley snake [*AM* 74 (1959) *Beil.* 113.4].
• Acrocorinth		
Mosaic in cult-building	2nd c AD	Mosaic depicting two large wicker baskets round which a snake is coiled [*Hesperia* 43 (1974) p. 280. Pl. 57].
• Aphaia		
Stamped bricks	Archaic	3 with snake [Furtwängler. p. 384. nos. 114-116. Pl.111.7].
• Olympia		
Sheet-bronze	Archaic	1 snake, and fragments of another [*Olympia*. IV. p. 108 (under no. 728)].
Bronze vase-attachments	E Archaic	6 snake-protomes from cauldrons [*OlForsch* XI. S.63-68. Pl. 86.6].
		8 snake-handles (and 12 fragmentary) [*Ibid.* S. 69-74. Pl. 87; *Olympia*. IV. 906-9].
	7th c BC	1 plate-handle decorated with two snake-protomes [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109].
Tripod-leg zone	7th c BC	1 zone with snake [*Ibid.* p. 109. Pl. 145.a].
• Dodona		
Bronze	6th c BC	At least 4 snake-figurines [Carapanos. pp. 38-9. Pl. 21.10; *Ep. Chr.* 10 (1935) p. 230.9. Pl. 19.b.16].
Bronze vase-handles	7th or 6th c BC	6 ending in snake-heads [Carapanos. p. 39. Pl. 21.10; *Ep. Chr.* 10 (1935) p. 230.10 & 11. Pl. 20.a.8 & Fig. 7; *Ibid.* p. 233.37. Fig. 8. Pl. 21.b.9; *PAE* 1931 p. 84. Fig. 1.2 & 3].
• Isthmia		
Terracotta craters	Archaic	2 decorated with crawling plastic snakes [*Hesperia* 24 (1955) p. 134. Pl. 52.d; *BCH* 95 (1971) p. 853. Fig. 103].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	3 sides (2 of 1 plaque) depict snake [*Beschreibung*. 745 & 917 (both sides)].

(ii) Snake-bracelets and other snake-jewellery

• Artemis Orthia		
Lead jewellery	635-600 BC	1 "snake-ornament" [*AO* p. 265. Pl. 185.10].
• Mt. Kotilon		
Bronze bracelets	Undated	Unspecified number [*AE* 1903 pp. 177-8].
• Kombothreka		
Bronze bracelets	Archaic	"Several" [*OlForsch* XIII. p. 24. note 13].
• Artemis Limnatis		
Gold and silver rings		Rings reported to be snake-shaped [Ross. *Reisen*. p. 19].
• Olympia (altar of Artemis)		
Silver bracelet	Archaic	1 snake-bracelet from altar area [*OlForsch* XIII. 919].
Bronze bracelets	6th c BC-Roman	*c* 50-60 snake-bracelets from the vicinity of the altar [*Ibid*. 837-40; 843; 846-8; 851-5; 857; 860-4; 866-7; 894; 896; 900-903; 905; 908-10; 912; 914-16; 918; 921; 923-4; 926-930; 932; 937; 939; 954-5; 964; 966; 968-9].
Bronze ring	Archaic	1 snake-shaped ring from the same area [*Ibid*. 562].
• Kambouli deposit		
Bronze earrings	6th-4th cs BC	Some snake-shaped earrings [*PAE* 1954 p. 294].
• Pherai		
Bronze bracelet		1 snake-bracelet [Kilian. Pl. 68.5].

• Bassai		
Silver bracelets	Archaic	At least 2 snake-bracelets [*AE* 1910 pp. 323-4. Fig. 46.1; *AAA* 6 (1973) p. 51].
Bronze bracelets	Archaic	1 snake-bracelet [*AE* 1910 p. 324].
• Amyclai		
Bronze bracelet	Archaic	1 snake-bracelet [*AE* 1892 p. 10].

• Halai		
Bronze bracelets	Archaic	12 bracelets with snake-heads (out of 16) [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 419. nos. 13-25. Figs. 64-7].
Silver earring	? 5th c BC	1 spiral serpent-head [p. 476. Fig. 147.6].

•Lindos		
Bronze bracelet	Archaic	1 snake-head bracelet [*Lindos*. I. 294].
•Perachora		
Bronze rings	Archaic/ E Classical	2 rings with snake-head (1 bites gorgoneion) [*Perachora*. I. p. 179. Pl. 79.29 & 30].
Gold ring	"post-Archaic"	1 serpent ring [p. 184. nos. 30 & 45]. } Pl. 84
Gold ? bracelet	"not early"	1 snake biting palmette [p. 185. no. 33]. } Pl. 84
•Argive Heraion		
? Bronze bracelet		1 bracelet may be snake-formed [Waldstein. II. p. 251. no. 972a. Pl. 89].
•Delos Heraion		
Bronze ring		1 snake-shaped ring [Délos XVIII. p. 316. Fig. 384].
•Knossos		
Silver bracelet	Not dated	1 two-headed serpent [Coldstream. p. 139. pl. 87.62].
Silver earrings	4th c BC or later	2 spirals ending in snake-head [p. 138. nos. 57-8. Pl. 87].
Bronze earring	4th c BC or later	1 spiral ending in snake-head [p. 154. Pl. 92.192].
•Aphaia		
Bronze ring	Undated	1 snake-shaped ring [Furtwängler. p. 418. no. 152. Pl. 116.45].
Bronze *fibula*	Geometric	1 with snake-shaped bow [p. 404. no. 125. Pl. 116.26].
•Olympia		
Silver bracelets	Archaic	2 snake-head bracelets [*OlForsch* XIII. 836 & 882].
Bronze bracelets	Archaic-Roman	Over 130 snake-head bracelets (including those near the altar of Artemis). [*Ibid.* 814-937; 954-969].
Bronze pins	Archaic	6 ending in snake-head [*Ibid*. 258-9; 261; 265-7].
Bronze rings	Archaic	2 ending in snake-head [*Ibid*. 563-4].
•Dodona		
Silver bracelet		1 snake-bracelet [Carapanos. p. 106. Pl. 50.5].
Bronze bracelets		5 snake-bracelets [*Ibid*. p. 93. Pl. 50.2-4 & 19; *PAE* 1952 p. 293. Fig. 20].

• Kalauria		
Bronze bracelet		1 ending in snake-heads [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 311].
Silver rings		2 ending in snake-heads [*Ibid.* p. 305].

(iii) Deities with snakes

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory *fibula*-plaque	8th c BC	Winged female holding bird in right hand, snake hanging from the arm by its mouth (left arm missing) [*AO* p. 207. Pl. 93.2].
(*cf* Vase-fragment	500-425 BC	Female between two standing snakes [p. 104. Fig. 78b].)
• Ephesos		
Ivory seal	7th c BC	1 winged female flanked by downward-hanging snake (and crane) [Hogarth. pp. 168 & 337. Pl. 27.6].
• Halai		
Terracotta	5th c BC	1 female with snake on her arm (fragmentary) [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 474. no. 65. Fig. 184].
• Lindos		
Marble statuette	? Hellenistic	Athena with coiled snake at her feet [*Lindos*. III.2. p. 559. Figs. 38-39].
Stone scaraboid	Archaic	Egyptian goddess, serpent on right [*Lindos*. I. 537].
• Gortyn		
Pinax	Archaic	Fragment showing skirted woman (with booted man) flanked by two rearing serpents [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) pp. 271-2. Pl. 1.d].
• Eleusis		
Marble relief	4th c BC	1 *stele* representing Demeter and Persephone, and Triptolemos in his chariot drawn by two serpents (winged). Fragments of others, of same period and later [Mylonas. p. 195. Fig. 74].
• Artemis Eleusinion		
Marble relief	5th c BC	Goddess (? Demeter) with snake (and Athena with shield) [*Hesperia* 8 (1939) p. 210].
• Cyrene (Demeter)		
Limestone statue	? Hellenistic	Lower half of life-size seated goddess, with snake on throne [*AJA* 79 (1975) p. 38. Pl. 4. Fig. 11].

(iv) Gorgons and gorgoneia (with or without snakes)

•Artemis Orthia		
Terracotta	Roman	1 fragment of Gorgon's face [*AO* p. 162.15].
Terracotta masks	550-500 BC	15 gorgoneia [p. 183. Pl. 56.2-3].
Lead I-II	7th c BC	Unenumerated Gorgon figurines [p. 262. Pl. 183.29]. 1 solid gorgoneion [p. 268. Pl. 185.30].
Lead rings I-IV	7th c BC	Gorgoneia in *intaglio* on bezels of an unspecified number of rings [p. 255. Fig. 118.d, f, o & p].
Ivory plaques	c 700 BC 635-600 BC	1 winged gorgon-head lion [p. 210. Pl. 102.1]. 1 gorgoneion on tooth-edged plaque [p. 242. Pl. 173.6].
Ivory disc-seal	750-650 BC	1 ? gorgon, kneeling [p. 230. Pl. 145.2].
Ivory comb	6th c BC	1 with relief of gorgoneion [p. 223. Pl. 131.5].
Bone seal	750-650 BC	1 with gorgoneion [p. 229. Pl. 141.3].
(*cf* Vase-fragments	7th-5th cs BC	Gorgoneion a recurring *motif* on AO vase fragments [Figs. 47.d; 48.b; 59.t & u; 60.u; 72.cc & z; 80.p; 81.dd].)
•Ephesos		
Temple sculpture	6th c BC	Winged gorgons with snakes decorating parapet [*JHS* 37 (1917) pp. 6-7].
•Kalydon		
Terracotta temple-decorations	6th c BC	1 Central *akroterion* (Temple A): running gorgon with snake belt [Dyggve. pp. 184-188. Figs. 195 & 221]. Fragments shield-*akroterion* Temple B_2): gorgoneion and serpents [pp. 148; 235-6. Figs. 159-60]. 3 fragments frieze (Temple A): *metopes* with gorgoneia and snakes [pp. 152-6. Fig. 164; pp. 219-220. Fig. 223].
•Knakeatis		
Marble *akroterion*	? 6th c BC	1 central shield-*akroterion* with Daedelic-style gorgon [*AE* 1952 p. 15. Figs. 11 & 16].
•Aulis		
Bronze Helmet	Hellenistic	1 helmet with two stamped "Medusas" [*PAE* 1956 p. 104. Pl. 34a].
•Euboian Artemision		
Stele	Undated	1 gorgon-relief [*AM* 8 (1883) p. 206].
•Corcyra (Ag. Theodoros)		
Limestone pediment	*c* 580 BC	Gorgon as *potnia theron* with panthers, two snakes forming belt, two emanating from neck [*PAE* 1911 p. 164. Fig. 5; Boardman. Fig. 187].

• Syracuse		
? Temple pediment	*c* 600 BC	Lock of hair, ? from large terracotta gorgoneion decorating pediment [*MA* 41 (1951) p. 780].
Terracotta masks	Archaic	Fragments of 1 or more gorgon mask [*Ibid.* pp. 785-6. Figs. 45-49].
• Delphi		
Bronze vase-attachments		2 gorgoneia, one joined to snake-shaped ring [*FdD* V (1908) p. 76. nos. 324-5. Figs. 260-261].
Gold plaques	7th c BC	2 semi-circular plaques with gorgon holding snakes [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 96. no. 23. Pl. 23.2 & 3].
Terracotta relief	Archaic	Representation of a temple with a gorgon on the pediment [*AJA* 15 (1911) p. 352].
• Delos		
Marble *kouros* base	7th or 6th c BC	Relief with two gorgons [*BCH* 12 (1888) pp. 470-1; Pl. 13].
• Ptoion		
Bronze	Archaic	1 gorgoneion (with snakey curls) [Ducat. p. 334. no. 192. Pl. 107].
Bronze strip	6th c BC	At least 1 zone with gorgon (snake-belt) [Ducat. p. 326; *BCH* 16 (1892) Pl. 10.2].
Terracotta antefix	Archaic	1 gorgoneion [*BCH* 31 (1907) p. 185. Fig. 1; Ducat. p. 419. no. 276].
• Thermon		
Terracotta temple decorations	7th c BC	1 gorgon-*akroterion* (? Apollo Thermios) [Van Buren. p. 66].
	7th c BC	1 semi-circular disc-*akroterion* (Apollo Lyseios) [Van Buren. p. 69. Fig. 140; *RE* 5.A.2 (2433)].
	6th c BC	Antefix and *metope*: Gorgoneia with snakes (Apollo Thermios) [*AE* 1900 p. 210. Fig. 9; *AE* 1903 pp. 71, 83-5. Pl. 2].
• Kato Phana		
Stone	Undated	Fragment of gorgon's head [*BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 153].
Scarab	650-580 BC	1 with running gorgon [*Ibid.* p. 164. Pl. 32.51].
• Dreros		
Limestone	7th c BC	1 Gorgoneion (not found on site) [*ADelt* 4 (1918) (*Parartima*) pp. 29-30; *BCH* 60 (1936) pp. 251-3. Fig. 20].
Bronze	6th c BC	1 Gorgoneion (from altar inside temple) [*BCH* 60 (1936) p. 244].

• Cyrene (Apollo)		
Marble *akroterion*	L Archaic	1 Gorgoneion (which had metal serpents), central *akroterion* [*EAA* II (1959) p. 668].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	3 gorgoneia with snakes [De Ridder. no. 455. Fig. 119; 458-9. Figs. 122-3].
(455-7 are from vases)		3 gorgoneia without snakes [450. Fig. 117; 456-7. Figs. 120-1].
		1 gigantic winged gorgon, without snakes [451].
		(+ fragments of 2 more wings [452-3]).
Bronze bowl-handle		1 with two small gorgoneia at either end [206. Fig. 41].
Bronze shields		2 with gorgoneia as central *motif* [263-4. Fig. 60].
Marble shield	Archaic	1 with snake-haired gorgoneion [Payne. Pl. 121.1].
Marble *akroterion*	6th c BC	1 (central) gorgon with snake-belt [Payne. Pl. 1; Pl. 13.4].
		Fragments (wing and thigh) of another [Pl. 13.5 & 6].
Limestone pediment	*c* 550 BC	Fragments of gorgon's wings (central figure in pediment of old temple, flanked by lions and snakes) [Boardman. Fig. 192].
• Lindos		
Terracotta relief	Classical	1 winged gorgon [*Lindos*. I. no. 2539].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 gorgoneion [1939].
• Sparta		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 fragmentary gorgoneion [*BSA* 26 (1924-5) p. 266. Pl. 21].
? Plastic vase	E Archaic	1 ? gorgoneion [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 81. Fig. 20.e].
• Sounion (Athena)		
Silver ring	Archaic	1 ring inset with gorgoneion [*AE* 1917 p. 207. Fig. 17].
• Halai		
Terracotta	6th or 5th c BC	2 fragments of gorgoneion (from a shield) [*Hesperia* 9 (1940) p. 477. no. 9].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta	7th c BC	Gorgoneia ("numerose repliche") [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 273. Fig. 70c].

• Perachora		
Bronze	6th c BC	2 gorgons, 1 gorgoneion [*Perachora*. I. p. 104. Pl. 34.1-2; p. 134. Pl. 42; p. 140. Pl. 44.11].
Bronze ring	E 5th c BC	1 with gorgoneion bitten by two snakes [p. 179. Pl. 79.30].
• Argive Heraion		
Ivory discs		2 winged gorgons (together) [Waldstein. II. p. 351. Pl..139.4 & 5]. 1 winged gorgon
• Samos		
Bronze votive shield	8th or 7th c BC	1 gorgoneion [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 286. Pl. 115.1]. (Inscribed pillar witnesses the dedication of a golden gorgon [*AM* 55 (1930) p. 47].)
• Knossos		
Silver pendant	Hellenistic/ Roman	1 lunule decorated with gorgoneion [Coldstream. Pl. 86. no. 56].
• Souvala		
Bronze pendant	Undated	1 small gorgoneion [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B². p. 388. Pl. 342.d].
• Olympia		
Bronze shield decorations (zones)	Archaic	1. 3 running gorgons with snakes [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 23.VII.e; Pl. 54 xxxγ. *Beil*. 5.3]. 2. 6 running gorgons without snakes [Pl. 10.2b; Pl. 25.VIII.a; *Beil*. 4.1-6]. 3. At least 2 zones with gorgoneia wreathed in snakes [Pl. 55.41.z; *Beil*. 5.5-6]. 4. 1 zone with Gorgon, Pegasos and Chrysaor [Pl. 39.14c]. 5. 1 zone with Gorgon, Perseus and ? Athena [Pl. 57.29.d]. 6. 1 zone with Gorgon as *potnia*, with lions [*AM* 78 (1963) *Beil*. 36].
Bronze mirror-handle	Archaic	1 decorative disc with gorgoneion [*OlForsch* II. p. 72. *Beil*. 5.4].
• Dodona		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 winged gorgon from cauldron-foot [*PAE* 1929 p. 113. Fig. 5 & 6].
Sheet bronze		2 gorgoneia (1 round) [*PAE* 1957 p. 78. Pl. 26.a; *PAE* 1929 pp. 113-114].
Bronze plaque	6th c BC	1 with running gorgon [*Ep.Chr*. 10 (1935) p. 229.6. Pl. 19.a.4].
• Isthmia		
Archaic	Bronze	2 gorgons [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 327. Pl. 68.a-b].

17. Fabulous animals

(i) Sphinxes

• Artemis Orthia		
Bronze	6th c BC	1 seated sphinx (*AO* p. 202. Fig. 116].
Bronze vase-handle	600-500 BC	1 small rampant sphinx [Pl. 90.g].
Terracotta reliefs	8th c BC	2 with sphinx [pp. 154-5. Pl. 39.3 & 5].
Limestone	*c* 600 BC	1 sphinx relief [p. 194. Pl. 73].
Ivory figurines	8th-6th c BC	1 couchant and 2 seated sphinxes [p. 232. Pl. 154.2; p. 240. Pl. 169.4; p. 244. Pl. 176.5].
Ivory plaques	8th & 7th cs BC	5 with sphinxes, including 2 with a heraldic pair [p. 207. Pl. 93.3; p. 208. Pl. 97.1; p. 245. Pl. 178.2; p. 213. Pl. 106.2; p. 244. Pl. 177].
4-faced bone/ ivory seals	8th & 7th cs BC	At least 8 represent "some kind of sphinx" [p. 228. e.g. Pl. 140, top row].
Ivory disc-seals	750-650 BC	At least 4 with sphinx [p. 230.3a,b,c,f].
Bone seals	750-650 BC	At least 4 with sphinx [p. 230. Pl. 142.5; Pl. 146.2; *JHS* 50 (1930) p. 298. Pl. 11.7 & 8].
Ivory combs	8th-7th c BC	1 comb with single sphinx [*AO* Pl. 130.1]; 3 combs with pair of sphinxes [p. 222-3; Pl. 126.2; Pl. 128.2; Pl. 127 (killing a man)].
(Bone) *Intagli* on reverse of Orthia-protomes	8th-7th c BC	2 with sphinx [p. 220].
(Ivory) Bases of couchant animals	8th-7th c BC	2 *intagli* and 2 reliefs of sphinx [p. 234].
Lead I-IV	L 8th c BC-500 BC	Unenumerated sphinxes (23 types) [p. 254. Pl. 179.1 & 2; p. 267. Pl. 192.5; p. 262. Pl. 184.11-16; p. 268. Pl. 187.17-29; p. 271. Pl. 196.17-18].
• Ephesos		
Gold plaques	Archaic	2 small plaques with sphinx [Hogarth. pp. 109-110. Pl. 8.2 & 9; Pl. 3.6].
Ivory	Archaic	1 sphinx [p. 163. Pl. 21.4].
• Brauron		
? Terracotta		1 seated, headless ? sphinx [Museum].
Engraved stone		1 with sphinx confronting lion [Museum].
• Delos		
Naucratic scarab		1 with sphinx [*BCH* 71-2 (1947-8) p. 218. no. 62. Fig. 24].

• Paros		
Marble *akroterion*		1 sphinx from building associated with the sanctuary [Rubensohn. pp. 57-8. Pl. 9].
• Kalydon		
Terracotta *akroteria*		3 Archaic sphinxes of varying size (side-*akroteria*) [Dyggve. pp. 177-184. Figs. 182-193].
• Mt. Kotilon		
Terracotta disc-*akroterion*	6th c BC	Fragments of 1 sphinx. Originally a pair (South building) [*PAE* 1902 p. 76; *AE* 1903 p. 164. Fig. 4].
• Delphi		
Bronze	Orientalizing - Classical	6 sphinxes [*FdD* V.2. 158-9; *BCH* 63 (1939) p. 115-117. no. 65]. 1 sphinx-protome [*FdD* V (1908) p. 76. no. 326. Pl. 11.3].
Terracotta	c 500 BC	1 sphinx [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 110. no. 60].
Gold plaque	6th c BC	2 zones with sphinxes [*Ibid*. p. 97. no. 24. Pl. 26 & 27].
Marble	560-550 BC	Sphinx "of the Naxians" [*FdD* IV.1. p. 41. Pl. 5 & 6; Boardman. Fig. 100].
• Amyclai		
Bronze	Archaic	1 sphinx's wing [*AE* 1892 p. 10].
• Ptoion		
Bronze reliefs	6th c BC	At least 4 zones with heraldic sphinxes [*BCH* 16 (1892) Pl. 14 & 15; Ducat. pp. 327-8. p. 330. e-g & i-j. Pl. 106-7].
• Kato Phana		
Bone/ivory seal	8th c BC	1 with sphinx (and man) [*BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 153. Pl. 33.1-4].
Scaraboid	650-580 BC	1 with winged sphinx above solar disc [*Ibid*. p. 164. Pl. 32.68].
Faience scarab	650-580 BC	2 with sphinx [*ADelt* 2 (1916) p. 207. Fig. 27.1 & 3].
• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	4 sphinxes [De Ridder. 441-4. Figs. 108-11].
Bronze relief	Archaic	1 with heraldic pair of sphinxes [De Ridder. 350].
Terracotta	Archaic	2 sphinxes [*Catalogue*. II. p. 432].
Marble	Archaic	2 sphinxes [Payne. Pl. 5-8.1].

• Lindos		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 sphinx [*Lindos*. I. 679].
Terracotta relief	525-400 BC	1 sphinx [2537].
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	20 sphinxes (6 complete) [1804-18].
Bone	Archaic	1 sphinx-shaped spoon-handle [420].
Engraved serpentine	Archaic	1 with sphinx (scaraboid) [527].
Faience scarabs	Archaic	7 with sphinx [1432-35].
• Athena Pronaia		
Bronze vase-attachment		1 crouching sphinx [*FdD* V (1908) p. 72. no. 273. Fig. 235].
• Sparta		
Terracotta	6th c BC	Fragments of 2 sphinxes [*BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 80. Fig. 2.14 & 15].
• Sounion		
? Engraved steatite	Archaic	1 ? sphinx [*AE* 1917 p. 212. Fig. 21].
Naucratic scarabs	6th c BC	Unenumerated sphinxes [*AE* 1917 p. 212. Fig. 21].
• Asea		
Sheet-bronze	6th c BC	1 sphinx [*AE* 1957 p. 156. Fig. 49].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta plaques	Archaic	3 cut-out standing sphinxes [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 271. Figs. 68, 69.a & b].
Pinakes	Archaic	4: 1 with 2 rampant heraldic sphinxes and lotus-flower [p. 267-8. Pl. 1.b]; at least 3 with single sphinx [pp. 270-3. Figs. 67; 69c; 70a].

• Perachora		
Bronze vase-attachment	6th c BC	1 sphinx [*Perachora*. I. p. 137. Pl. 37.2].
Bronze strips	6th c BC	Several zones with sphinx [pp. 145-8. Pl. 47-50].
Terracotta reliefs	6th c BC	6 sphinxes [p. 234. no. 194. Pl. 101].
Plastic vase	L 7th or 6th c BC	1 sphinx (Corinthian) [p. 239. Pl. 106].
Ivory figurine	7th c BC	1 sphinx [*Perachora*. II. p. 403. Pl. 171].
Ivory relief	7th c BC	1 ? cut-out sphinx (or winged lion) [p. 406. Pl. 172].

Ivory & bone seals	7th c BC	20 with sphinxes, including 1 heraldic pair (p. 420. Pl. 178) and 1 double-bodied (see Vol. 1. p. 108) [*Perachora*. II. pp. 415-432. Pl. 176-181].
Jasper seal	7th c BC	1 with seated sphinx [p. 454. B.21].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	14 with sphinx [p. 505. Pl. 192. Fig. 37].
• Argive Heraion		
Small bronze *amphora* handle		1 handle crowned by sphinx [Waldstein. II. p. 287. Pl. 118.203-4].
Terracotta	Orientalizing	3: 1 complete, 2 fragmentary [p. 29. nos. 114-116. Figs. 46-7. Pl. 48.16].
Ivory discs	Archaic	1 with sphinx [p. 352. no. 16. Pl. 139].
Paste scaraboids		3 with sphinx [pp. 370-2. Pl. 143.22, 25 & 35].
• Samos		
Bronze (Syrian)	Archaic	1 female (standing on lion's head) flanked by sphinxes [*Samos*. VIII. p. 67. Pl. 67].
	550-500 BC	1 head of sphinx [Buschor. Fig. 398-9].
Bronze reliefs		1 seated sphinx (Assyrian) [*Samos*. VIII. Pl. 73]. Heraldic sphinxes engraved on collar of 1 goddess (Egyptian) [*Ibid*. p. 8. Pl. 9].
Cypriot lime-stone	645-550 BC	2 sphinxes and fragments of 2 [*Samos*. VII. p. 66. Pl. 119-120].
Altar frieze	mid-6th c BC	Sphinxes in frieze [*AM* 58 (1933) *Beil*. 2.1 & 2].
• Acrocorinth		
Silver ring	5th c BC	Seated sphinx engraved on gold bezel [*Hesperia* 41 (1972) p. 317. Pl. 63.e].
Ivory mirror-handle	Archaic	Seated sphinx in upper zone of handle [*Ibid*. 43 (1974) p. 290. Pl. 59].
• Souvala		
Iron finger-ring		Sphinx stamped on bezel of 1 ring [*ADelt* 27 (1972) B². p. 387].
• Lato		
Terracotta reliefs	Archaic	11 winged sphinxes, with *polos*, and 44 fragments [*BCH* 53 (1929) pp. 420-22. Fig. 34].
Terracotta vase-handle	Archaic	1 sphinx-head handle [*Ibid*. p. 417. no. 91. Fig. 33].

• Prinias		
Limestone relief (Temple A)	7th c BC	Sphinx engraved on skirt of seated female [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) pp. 56-7. Fig. 21.c.2].
Akroteria	7th c BC	2 sphinx *akroteria* [*AJA* 38 (1934) Pl. 19.B].
Relief-*pithos*	Archaic	Heraldic sphinxes on 3 *pithos*-fragments [*Ibid*. p. 177. Pl. 18.B; *AJA* 5 (1901) p. 410. Pl. 13.10 & 11].
• Olympia		
Bronze	Orientalizing-Archaic	3 sphinxes [*Olympia*. IV. 949; 819 (and *OlForsch* XI. Pl. 90.1-3); *ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109].
Bronze shield-bands	Archaic	At least 9 zones with heraldic sphinxes [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 5.1.a; 11.2.d; 16.3.f; 19.4.h; 21.5.f; 44.17.a; 53.28.z; 60.32.d; *Beil*. 3.23.a].
Bronze helmet	6th c BC	1 ram's head helmet engraved with two seated sphinxes [*OlBer* VIII. p.169. Figs. 57 &58. Pl. 91].
Bronze seal-rings	Hellenistic-Roman	4 rings decorated with sphinxes [*OlForsch* XIII. 624-7].
• Nemea		
Bronze ring	Undated	1 ring with heraldic sphinxes on bezel [*Hesperia* 50 (1981) p. 50. Pl. 13.c].
• Dodona		
Bronze	6th c BC	2 sphinxes [Carapanos. p. 37. Pl. 21.1; *Ep.Chr*. 10 (1935) p. 229. Pl. 19a.4].
Bronze ring	Undated	1 with sphinx on bezel [*PAE* 1952 p. 292. Fig. 16].
• Isthmia		
Bronze vase-attachment	Archaic	1 sphinx-protome [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 327. Pl. 68c].
Bronze shield band	Archaic	1 with heraldic sphinxes [p. 329. Fig. 8].
• Sounion		
? Terracotta plaque	6th c BC	1 fragment, perhaps with sphinx [*AE* 1917 p. 197. Fig. 10].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	7 sides depict sphinx [*Beschreibung*. 725-6; 842; 924; 933; *Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 44. no. 90; p. 48. no. 167].

(ii) Griffins: (a) Representations apart from cauldron-decoration

• Artemis Orthia		
Ivory	670-635 BC	1 griffin's head (with rivet) [*AO* p. 242. Pl. 172.6].
Ivory plaque	700-635 BC	Man between griffin and winged lion [p. 213. Pl. 105].
Ivory comb	Geometric	1 engraved with griffin [p. 222. Pl. 126.1a].
Ivory protome (Orthia)	Archaic	1 with *intaglio* of seated griffin on reverse [p. 220. Pl. 122.1].
4 faced ivory/ bone seals	750-650 BC	2 with griffin [p. 230. Pl. 139.a & b (d & n)].
Ivory disc-seal	750-650 BC	1 with griffin [p. 230.3f].
Bone disc-seals	750-650 BC	2 with griffin [p. 236. Pl. 146.4; *JHS* 50 (1930) p. 298. Pl. 11.8].
Circular bone seals	750-650 BC	Several with griffin [*AO* p. 229. Pl. 142. 1,2 & 3].
• Ephesos		
Gold plaque	7th c BC	1 appliqué plaque with griffin [Hogarth. p. 110. Pl. 8.7].
Ivory seal		1 with three griffins couchant [p. 167. Pl. 28.3].
Ivory figurine		1 griffin-protome [*AS* 32 (1982) p. 78. Pl. 16e].
• Delos Artemision		
Ivory engraved plaque	Mycenean	Griffin fighting lion [*BCH* 71 (1947-8) pp. 174-81. Pl. 29-31].
Ivory relief plaque	Mycenean	Griffin attacking deer [p. 169. Pl. 27.3].
• Lousoi		
Lead relief	7th c BC	1 Laconian griffin [Sinn. p. 31. Fig. 8].
• Thasos		
Gold diadem	? Archaic	1 griffin decorating diadem [*Guide de Thasos*. p. 162. Fig. 102].
Painted figurine	Archaic	1 griffin decorating skirt of female [*BCH* 84 (1960) p. 861. Fig. 7].
• Scala Greca		
Terracotta	4th or 3rd c BC	1 griffin-paw once held by female figurine [*NSC* 1900 p. 372. Fig. 22].

• Delphi		
Gold plaque	Archaic	3 plaques with reliefs of griffin [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 96. no. 22; p. 97. no. 24. Pl. 23.1; 25; 28].
Stone		1 griffin from a throne (near temple [*FdD* V (1908) p. 84].
Lamp	Roman	1 lamp stamped with griffin [*Ibid*. p. 188. no. 516. Fig. 812].
• Ptoion		
Bronze strip	6th c BC	1 heraldic pair of griffins [*BCH* 16 (1892) p. 364. Pl. 14.2; Ducat. p. 328.g. Pl. 106].
• Kalymnos		
Bronze sword - handle	Undated ("good style")	Griffin-head-handle [Newton. *Travels*. I. p. 308-9].
? Stone frieze	Undated	Fragments of griffin frieze in churches probably from temple [*Ibid*. pp. 315-316].

• Acropolis		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	1 marine griffin ridden by youth [De Ridder. 355].
(Bronze	Archaic	Some griffin protomes may not be from cauldrons, but emblems from chariots [*Ibid*. p. 147].)
• Lindos		
Terracotta	525-400 BC	1 whole crouching griffin [*Lindos*. I. 2311].
Plastic vases	Archaic	2 griffin-heads [1923].
Cypriot limestone	Archaic	1 fragment of griffin [1819].
Engraved stones	Archaic	2 scaraboids engraved with griffin (and lyre-player) [522-3].
Faience scarabs	Archaic	3 with griffin [1429-31].
• Tegea		
Ivory disc	Archaic	1 decorated with griffin (and bird) [*BCH* 45 (1921) p. 432. no. 386].
? Bone disc	Archaic	1-2 discs with ? griffin [p. 431. Fig. 66. nos. 383 & ? 384].
• Sparta		
Terracotta	7th c BC	1 griffin; and 1 large griffin's head from vase [*BSA* 26 (1923-5) p. 249. Fig. 7.3; *BSA* 29 (1927-8) p. 79. Fig. 2.13].
Ivory	L 7th c BC	1 griffin's head [*BSA* 26 (1923-5) pp. 248 & 275. Fig. 7.1 & 2].

• Emporio		
Lead	5th c BC	9 small lead griffin-protomes [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 26. Pl. 84-85.166].
• Gortyn		
Terracotta	Archaic	Great number of griffin heads, belonging to small or miniature cauldrons [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) pp. 235 & 269. Fig. 28].
• Perachora		
Ivory/bone seals	7th c BC	17 or 18 with winged and unwinged griffins [*Perachora*. II. pp. 413-432. Pl. 175-182].
Paste scarabs	750-600 BC	8 scarabs with griffin [*Ibid*. p. 501 D.500-D.507].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 griffin's head [Waldstein. II. p. 41. Pl. 48.15].
Ivory discs	Archaic	4 with griffin [p. 351-2. Pl. 139.1,2,7 & 8].
Ivory beads		2 with griffin [p. 352.27 & 29].
Engraved stones	Mycenean & "nondescript"	2 with griffin [pp. 350. nos. 58 & 61].
Paste scaraboid		1 with griffin [p. 370-1. no. 31].
• Knossos		
Marble lentoid	Minoan	1 decorated with griffin [Coldstream. p. 127. Fig. 27.11].
• Aphaia		
Engraved stone	Mycenean	1 ? griffin [Furtwängler. p. 432. Pl. 118.22].
Terracotta *akroterion*	Archaic	1 griffin's claw (? from *propylaion*) [p. 385. Fig. 318].
• Lato		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 griffin's head from vase [*BCH* 53 (1929) p. 416. no. 89. Fig. 31].
• Prinias		
Terracotta	Archaic	3 griffins' heads [*ASAtene* 1 (1914) p. 64. Fig. 30; p. 74].
• Olympia		
Bronze relief	Orientalizing	1 relief of 2 standing heraldic griffins (*thymiaterion*) [*Olympia* IV. 696].
Stone scaraboid	Archaic	1 engraved with griffin [*Ibid*. 1193].

Bronze plate-handle	7th c BC	1 handle decorated with griffin-protome [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109].
• Dodona		
Bronze plaque	Archaic	2 with heraldic pair of winged griffin (or lions) [Carapanos. pp. 35-6. Pl. 18.2].
• Isthmia		
Gold ornament	Archaic	Part of griffin (*repoussé*) [*Hesperia* 28 (1959) p. 333. Pl. 69.b].
• Penteskophia		
Pinax	650-500 BC	1 with griffin (and siren) [*Beschreibung.* 83].

(b) Griffins and griffin-protomes as Archaic bronze cauldron-decorations (Late 8th - 6th centuries BC)

• Ephesos	
Bronze	4 griffin-protomes [Hogarth. p. 151. Pl. 16.4; *AJA* 79 (1975) p. 215; *AS* 30 (1980) p. 211; *AS* 32 (1982) p. 81].
• Pherai	
Bronze	1 griffin-protome [Bequignon. Pl. 21.1].
• Kalapodi	
? Bronze	1 fragment ? griffin-protome [*AA* 95 (1980) p. 82. Fig. 59].
• Delphi	
Bronze	16 griffin-protomes, including fragments [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 85-87. nos. 383-92. Figs. 288-91. Pl. 10-11].
• Ptoion	
Bronze	1 griffin-protome [Ducat. p. 72. no. 43].
• Amyclai	
Bronze	Some griffins' heads [*AM* 52 (1927) p. 17. *Beil.* 8.14].
• Kato Phana	
Bronze	2 griffins' protomes from cauldrons [*ADelt* 1 (1915) p. 76. Fig. 13; *BSA* 35 (1934-5) p. 148. Pl. 31.38].
• Acropolis	
Bronze	10 griffin-protomes [De Ridder. 431-440. Figs. 99-107].

• Lindos

Bronze	1 griffin-protome [*Lindos*. I. 707].

• Athena Pronaia

Bronze	2 griffin-protomes [*FdD* V (1908) p. 85. no. 384. Fig. 289; p. 86. no. 385. Fig. 290b].

• Perachora

Bronze	1 griffin-protome [*Perachora*. I. p. 126. Pl. 38].

• Argive Heraion

Bronze	1 griffin-protome [Waldstein. II. p. 294. 2205].

• Samos

Bronze	100-200 protomes from cauldrons [*AM* 73 (1958) p. 26].

• Olympia

Bronze	15 whole griffins (walking) [*OlForsch* XI. S.75-S.89. Pl. 88-90]. Over 130 griffin-protomes (and more fragments) [*Ibid.* G.1-G.63. Pl. 1-29; G.64-G.109. Pl. 37-72; S.45-S.62. Pl. 84-6].

• Nemea

Bronze	Ear of griffin (? from cauldron) [*Hesperia* 47 (1978) p. 65. Pl. 17.c].

• Dodona

Bronze	1 fragment of griffin (bronze leaf with scales, in relief) [*PAE* 1956 p. 155. Pl. 60.a; *BCH* 81 (1957) p. 583. Fig. 9].

• Kalauria

Bronze	1 griffin-protome [*AM* 20 (1895) p. 312.3].

(iii) Sirens

• Artemis Orthia

Bronze brooch	6th c BC	1 decorated with siren holding wreath [*AO* p. 202. Pl. 87e].
Silver pendant	7th c BC	1 siren-shaped pendant [p. 384. Pl. 203.7].
Ivory seal	8th c BC	1 seal with siren and pomegranate bud on one side [p. 229. Pl. 168.3].
Lead II-IV	635-500 BC	Unenumerated sirens (2 types) [p. 268. Pl. 189.19; p. 271. Pl. 196.25. Fig. 125.1].

• Ephesos		
Ivory relief	Archaic	1 siren [Hogarth. Pl. 26.4].
• Limnatis (Laconia/Messenia)		
Bronze ? brooch	*c* 530 BC	1 siren (part of brooch or *hydria*) [*BCH* 83 (1959) pp. 640-1. Figs. 21 & 22].
• Paros		
Plastic vase		1 fragment of siren-vase [Rubensohn. pp. 165-6. Pl. 32.91].
• Cyrene		
Silver-gilt pendant (earring)	6th c BC	1 siren [*Afrlt* IV.10 (1931) p. 194. Fig. 19].
• ? Diktynnaion of Crete		
Limestone	Undated	1 large ? siren (fragmentary; showing hair on neck) [*MA* 11 (1901) p. 298. no. 4. Fig.8].

• Delphi		
Bronze cauldron-attachment	5th c BC	2 "oiseaux à tête humaine" [*BCH* 63 (1939) p. 115. no. 64].
	Archaic	12 more sirens [*FdD* V (1908) pp. 80-82. nos. 360-371. Pl. 12-13].
• Delos (Apollo) Bronze vase-attatchment	Archaic	1 Siren's head [Délos XVIII. p. 69. Pl. 29.212-3].
• Ptoion		
Bronze cauldron-attachments	Archaic	2 sirens [Ducat. p. 65. no. 42; *BCH* 12 (1888) p. 380. Pl. 12].
Bronze relief	6th c BC	1 with a series of confronting pairs of sirens [Ducat. p. 330.i-j. Pl. 107].
• Kynouria		
Bronze vase-attachment	L Archaic	1 siren [*PAE* 1911 p. 273. Fig. 13].

• Acropolis		
Bronze	Archaic	5 sirens, 4 attachments, 1 (no. 448. Fig. 115) perhaps independent [De Ridder. 445-9. Figs. 112-116].
Terracotta	Archaic	1 siren [*Catalogue*. II. p. 431].
• Lindos		
Bronze vase-attachment	Archaic	1 siren-protome [*Lindos*. I. 705].
Terracotta	525-400 BC	1 siren [2427].
Plastic vases	525-400 BC	3 siren-vases [2313].

• Sparta		
Bronze attachments	Archaic	2 sirens (? chest leg ? tripod-leg) [*BSA* 28 (1926-7) p. 88. Fig. 3; p. 89. Pl. 9.11].
• Emporio		
Plastic vases	mid-6th c BC	2 sirens [*BSA* Supplement 6. p. 199. no. 106. Fig. 132. Pl. 80.103].
• Halai		
Terracotta	? 5th c BC	1 siren [*Hesperia* 9 (1935) p. 476. Fig. 186.1].
• Perachora		
Bronze mirror	6th c BC	1 handle, of siren, and palmette [*Perachora*. I. p. 140. Pl. 44.12].
Plastic vases	Archaic	5 Corinthian and 3 East Greek siren-vases [p. 238. Pl. 105; pp. 254-5. Pl. 112 & 114].
Bone stepped seal	7th c BC	1 with siren [*Perachora*. II. p. 423 A.62].
Bone or ivory scarab	7th c BC	1 with siren [p. 429 A.92].
• Argive Heraion		
Terracotta	Archaic	1 siren [Waldstein. II. p. 41. Pl. 48.14].
• Delos Heraion		
Bronze cauldron-attachment	Archaic	1 fragmentary bearded siren [*Delos* XVIII (1938) p. 69. Fig. 100-101].
Plastic vases	Archaic	2 siren-vases [*Delos* XXIII. 174-5].
• Samos		
Bronze cauldron-attachment	Archaic	1 siren [*AM* 83 (1968) p. 284. Pl. 112].
Plastic vase	Archaic	1 siren-head vase [Buschor. Fig. 130].
(Silver		Inscribed pillar witnessing dedication of a silver siren [*AM* 55 (1930) p. 47].)
• Acrocorinth		
Plastic vase	6th c BC	1 siren [*Hesperia* 34 (1965) p. 18. Pl. 7.a].
• Knossos Terracotta	? 5th c BC	1 fragmentary siren [Coldstream. p. 89. Pl. 64.250].
• Aphaia		
Plastic vase	Archaic	Fragments of 2 siren-vases [Furtwängler. p. 381. no. 81. Pl. 110.6].
• Olympia		
Bronze cauldron-attachments	Archaic	23 siren-protomes (some bearded) [*OlForsch* VI. A.1-A.23. Pl. 7-33].

Bronze shield-band	Archaic	1 zone with siren [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 28.9a].
Bronze leg-greave	7th c BC	1 engraved with siren [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109].
• Dodona		
Bronze ring	Undated	1 with siren-*intaglio* [*PAE* 1955 p. 171; *BCH* 80 (1956) p. 300].
• Penteskouphia		
Pinakes	650-500 BC	2 sides depict siren: 1 with griffin [*Jdl* 12 (1897) p. 44. no. 83]; 1 with bird and sphinx [*Ibid*. no. 90].

(iv) Chimaeras

• Asea		
Sheet-bronze	7th or 6th c BC	1 chimaera [*AE* 1957 p. 155. Fig. 48].
• Gortyn		
Pinakes	Archaic	Scenes of Bellerophon, Pegasos and Chimaera. "Numerose" [*ASAtene* 33-4 (1955-6) p. 261. Fig. 57a; p. 266. Fig. 62].
• Perachora		
Bronze strip	Archaic	1 chimaera on fragmentary zone (next to *potnia theron*) [*Perachora*. I. p. 146. Pl. 48.4-5].
Ivory seals/ button	7th c BC	5 seals/button with chimaera [*Perachora*. II. p. 415.A.30b; p. 418.A.38.b: p. 420.A.46b (with goat-victim); p. 421.A49; p. 424.A.66]. 1 seal with *motif* of lions' and goats' heads ("short-hand chimaera") [p. 419.A.41].
(Engraved stone	Archaic	1 monster composed of lion and snakes [p. 453.B.20].)
• Lato		
Terracotta plaque	Archaic	1 chimaera on register of plaque (next to *potnia theron*) [*BCH* 53 (1929) pp. 424-5. Fig. 36. Pl. 32].
• Olympia		
Bronze shield-band	Archaic	1 zone with chimaera [*OlForsch* II. Pl. 25.8.b].
Tripod-leg	7th c BC	1 zone with chimaera [*ADelt* 18[1] (1963) p. 109. Pl. 145a].

APPENDIX 9: Ancient writers and works referred to in the thesis.

Aelian	*De Natura Animalium*. 2nd/3rd c AD.
Aeschines	*Oration against Ctesiphon*. 4th c BC.
Aeschylus	*Tragedies*. 5th c BC.
Aesop	*Fables*. 6th c BC
Alcaeus of Messene	*Epigrams*. 3rd c BC.
Alexis	(Writer of comedies; only fragments surviving) 4th c BC.
Anacreon	*Fragments* (of lyrical poems) 6th c BC.
Anecdota Graeca	(See Bekker).
Anthologia Palatina	(Greek Anthology) 7th c BC - 10 c AD.
Antigonus Carystius	*Historia Mirabilia*. 3rd c BC.
Antiphanes	(Writer of comedies; only fragments surviving) 4th c BC.
Antoninus Liberalis	*Metamorphoses*. 2nd or 3rd c AD.
Apollodorus	*Bibliotheca*; *Epitome*. ? 1st c AD.
Apollonius Rhodius	*Argonautica*. 3rd c BC.
Arctinus of Miletus	*Iliu Persis*. ? 8th c BC.
Aristeas of Proconnesos	*Arimaspeia* (lost epic). 6th c BC.
Aristophanes	*Comedies*. 5th - 4th cs BC.
Aristotle	*The History of Animals*; *Problems*. 4th c BC.
Arrian	*Anabasis*. 2nd c AD.
Artemidorus Daldianus	*Oneirocriticon*. 2nd c AD.
Athenaeus	*Deipnosophistae*. *c*. 200 AD.
Bacchylides	*Epinikoi*. 5th c BC.
Bion	*Epitaphs*. 2nd c BC.
Callimachus	*Hymns*. 3rd c BC.
Charon	(Historian; only fragments surviving; see C. Müller. *Fragmenta*) 5th c BC.

Cicero	*Tusculanae Disputationes*. 1st c BC.
Clement of Alexandria	*Protrepticus*. 2nd - 3rd c AD.
Columella	*De Re Rustica*. 1st c AD.
Dio Chrysostom	*Discourses*. 1st - 2nd c AD.
Diodorus Siculus	*Bibliotheca Historica*. 1st c BC.
Dionysius, son of Calliphon	*Descriptio Graeciae* (See C. Müller. *Geographi Graeci*). 1st c BC - 1st c AD.
Etymologicum Magnum	12th c AD.
Euripides	*Tragedies*. 5th c BC.
Eustathius	*Comentarii ad Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam*. 12th c AD.
Herodotus	*History*. 5th c BC.
Herondas	*Mimes*. 3rd c BC.
Hesiod	*Works and Days*; *Theogony*; *Catalogue of Women*; *Astronomy*; *Shield of Herakles*. ? 8th c BC.
Hesychius	*Alexandrini Lexicon*. 5th - 6th cs AD.
Homer	*Iliad*; *Odyssey*. ? 8th c BC.
Homeric Hymns	? 8th - ? 5th cs BC.
Hyginus	*Fabulae*; *Astronomia*. 1st c BC.
Libanius	*Progymnasmata*. 4th c AD.
Livy	*Ab Urbe Condita*. 1st c BC.
Lucan	*Pharsalia*. 1st c AD.
Lucian	*Dialogi Meretricii*; *De Syria Dea*; *Timon*. 2nd c AD.
Lydus	*De Mensibus*. 6th c AD.
Macrobius	*Saturnalia*. 4th - 5th c AD.
Menander	*Epitreponites*. 4th - 3rd c BC.
Menodotus	(Historian; only fragments surviving) ? 3rd c BC.
Nicander	*Alexipharmaca*; *Fragments*. 2nd c BC.

Nonnus	*Dionysiaca*. c 400 AD.
Orphic Hymns	From 6th c BC onwards.
Ovid	*Metamorphoses*; *Fasti*. 43 BC - AD 18.
Palaephatus	*Paradoxes*. ? 4th c BC.
Pausanias	*Description of Greece*. 2nd c AD.
Philostratus	*Imagines*; *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. 2nd - 3rd c AD.
Phlegon	(Historian; only fragments surviving) 2nd c AD.
Photius	*Bibliotheca*. 9th c AD.
Pindar	*Olympian*, *Nemean*, & *Pythian Odes*; *Dithyrambs*. Early 5th c BC.
Plato	*Phaedo*. 4th c BC.
Pliny	*Natural History*. 1st c AD.
Plutarch	*Parallel Lives*; *Moralia*. 1st - 2nd c AD.
Pollux	*Onomasticon*. 2nd c AD.
Polybius	*Universal History*. 2nd c BC.
Quintus Smyrnaeus	*Posthomerica*. ? 4th c AD.
Sappho	*Lyrics*. 7th - 6th cs BC.
Scholia in Aristophanem *Scholia in Euripidis Tragoedias* *Scholia in Pindarem*	From 3rd c BC - Byzantine period.
Sidonius Apollinaris	*Carmina*; *Epistulae*. 5th c AD.
Sophocles	*Tragedies*. 5th c BC.
Strabo	*Geography*. 1st c BC - 1st c AD.
Suidas	*Lexicon*. 10th c AD.
Theocritus	*Idylls*. 3rd c BC.
Theognis	*Elegies*. 6th c BC.
Theophrastus	*De Signis Tempestatum*. 4th - 3rd cs BC.
Virgil	*Aeneid*. 1st c BC.
Vitruvius	*De Architectura*. 1st c BC - 1st c AD.

Xenophon	*Anabasis*; *Hellenica*; *Cynegeticus*; *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*. 5th - 4th cs BC.
Xenophon of Ephesos	*Habrocomes and Antheia*. ? 2nd - 3rd c AD.

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FIGURES AND PLATES

Figure

1 Plan of the altars at Olympia, according to Pausanias' description. K. Wernicke. *Jdl* 9 (1894) pp. 100-101.

Plate

1 Goddess with (?) bear, from Claros. Marble relief. 23 x 23 cm. *Öjh* 15 (1912) p. 57. Fig. 26.

2 Bear from the Acropolis of Athens. Marble statuette, 4th c BC. H. 45 cm. *AntK* 20 (1977) p. 94. Pl. 21.6.

3 Bear from Artemis Orthia. Archaic terracotta figurine. H. 5.4 cm. *AO* p. 158. Fig. 13.

4 Bear-headed human from Tegea. Bronze figurine, 7th c BC. H. 4.7 cm. *BCH* 45 (1921) p. 356. no. 55. Fig. 17.

5 Bird from Olympia. Geometric bronze figurine. H. 6.7 cm. *OlForsch* XII. 937.

6 Artemis with a swan. Archaic *lekythos* (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad). K. Hoenn, *Artemis*. p. 96. Pl. 4.

7 Athena, Aphrodite and Hera; sphinx. Ivory comb from Artemis Orthia. *c* 700 BC. W. 8 cm. *AO* Pl. 127.

8 *Potnia theron* with flying swans. Mycenean green jasper (British Museum). Diameter 1.8 cm. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. 2.28.

9 Bird with ? worshipper, from Lindos. Archaic gem. 1.7 x 1.3 cm. *Lindos* I. 524.

10 *Potnia theron*. Handle of bronze *hydria* from Grächwil, 7th c BC (Historical Museum, Bern). K. Hoenn. *Artemis*. p. 48. Pl. 1.

11 Sacrifice of deer and goose to Artemis. Marble relief from Aegina, 5th c BC. 64 x 46 cm. *AE* 1901. Pl. 6.

12 *Potnia* with birds from Artemis Orthia. Ivory plaque, 7th c BC. 8 x 4.5 cm. *AO* Pl. 98.1.

13 *Potnia* with birds of prey from Lindos. Archaic bronze plaque. 4 x 3 cm. *Lindos* I. 472.

14 Bull from Isthmia. L. Archaic gold figurine. Base 1 x 5 cm. *Hesperia* 24 (1955) Pl. 55a.

15 Bull's head from Samos. Bronze *rhyton*, *c* 700 BC. H. 14.5 cm. *AM* 83 (1968) Pl. 121.

Plate

16 Artemis riding a bull, from Brauron. Terracotta plaque, 6th c BC. *ADelt* 22 (1967) Pl. 102.1.

17 Deer-chariot of Artemis, from Bassai. Marble frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios, *c* 420 BC. H. of slab, 64 cm. Richter. *Animals in Greek Sculpture*. Fig. 146.

18 Artemis with a deer, from Kanoni. Terracotta statuette, E. 5th c BC. H. 52 cm. *BCH* 15 (1891) Pl. 6.1.

19 Artemis with two deer, and panthers, from Kanoni. Terracotta statuette, E. 5th c BC. H. 59 cm. *Ibid*. Pl. 7.1.

20 *Potnia theron* from Smyrna. Archaic ivory plaque. 7.3 x 4.1 cm. *AM* 50 (1925) Pl. 7.

21 Artemis Ephesia with bitches and scorpions. Graeco-Roman gem. *c* 1.6 x 1.3 cm. Furtwängler. *Die Antiken Gemmen*. 44.2.

22 Artemis with dog, from her altar at Olympia. Terracotta figurine, Classical or later. Deutsches Archaologisches Institut, Athen. OL.5501.

23 Artemis with dog, from Brauron. Painted terracotta plaque, 6th c BC. Themelis. *Brauron*. p. 80.

24 Deer attacked by dogs, from Olympia. Geometric bronze figurine. 10 x 6 cm. *OlForsch* XII.723.

25 Heads of boar and dogs from Epidaurus. Marble water-spouts of temple of Artemis, 4th c BC. *PAE* 1906. Pl. D.1.

26 Dog from Artemis Knakeatis. Marble figurine, 6th c BC ("small"). *AE* 1952. p. 27. Fig. 21.6.

27 Fish from Artemis Orthia. Lead figurine, 7th c BC. W. 2.5 cm. *AO* Pl. 189.22.

28 Fish from Asea. Sheet bronze (worked on both sides), 7th c BC ("small"). *AE* 1957 p.159. Fig. 54.

29 Frog from Artemis Orthia. Bone plaque, 5th c BC. L. 2.5 cm. *AO* Pl. 115.

30 Tortoise from Artemis Orthia. Bone plaque, 5th c BC. L. 4 cm. *AO* Pl. 115.

31 Double goat-protome from Lindos. Archaic bronze pendant. H. 7 cm. *Lindos* I. 224.

32 ? Goat-hunt from Dreros. "Primitive" incized stone slab. 36 x 26 cm. *BCH* 60 (1936) p. 279. Fig. 44.

Plate

33 Goats attacked by dogs, and Artemis with a goat, from the Cretan Diktynnaion. Limestone *stele*, 3rd c BC. 98 x 55.5 cm. *MA* 11 (1901) p. 302. Fig. 9.

34 Artemis feeding goats, from Brauron. Marble relief, 5th c BC. *PAE* 1959 Pl. 13.a.

35 Hare from the Prytaneion, Olympia. Geometric bronze figurine. H. 3.75 cm. *OlForsch* XII.929.

36 Female rider from Artemis Orthia. Archaic terracotta figurine. H. *c* 9.5 cm. *AO* Pl. 33.8.

37 Charioteer from Olympia. L. Geometric or E. Archaic bronze figurine. H. 10 cm. *Olympia* IV. 249; W. Lamb. *Greek and Roman bronzes*. Pl. 16.a.

38 Female head with two horse-protomes, from Artemis Orthia. Terracotta pendant, 6th c BC. W. 6.5 cm. *AO* Pl. 32.5.

39 Horse-protome, from Eleusis. Hellenistic marble statue. H. 68 cm. *BCH* 82 (1958) p. 436. Fig. 2.

40 (a-c) Bee, fish, siren and goddess, from Artemis Orthia. *Intaglio* on three-sided Geometric ivory seal (each face, 3 x 2 cm). *AO* Pl. 168.3.

41 Heraldic lions from Artemis Orthia. Triangular limestone relief, *c* 600 BC. W. 24 cm. *AO* Pl. 69.42.

42 Female with lion, Olympia. Limestone pediment, Treasury of the Cyrenians, 6th c BC. *Olympia* III. p. 20. Fig. 18.

43 Goddess with lion from Artemis Orthia. Archaic terracotta figurine. H. 8.75 cm. *AO* p. 149. Fig. 108.

44 Artemis holding hare and lion, from Kanoni. Terracotta figurine, E. 5th c BC. H. 24 cm. *BCH* 15 (1891) p. 66. Pl. 2.4.

45 *Potnia* with snakes, from Areopagus. Archaic painted terracotta relief plaque. *c* 25 x 13 cm. *Hesperia* 2 (1933) p. 606. Fig. 73.

46 Snake from Kombothreka. L. Geometric terracotta figurine. L. *c* 9 cm. *AM* 96 (1981) Pl. 10.1.

47 Snake-shaped bracelet from Olympia. Bronze, L. Archaic or E. Classical, Total L. *c* 92 cm. *OlForsch* XIII. 875.

48 *Potnia* with snake and bird, from Artemis Orthia. Ivory *fibula*-plaque, 8th c BC. 8 x 5 cm. *AO* Pl. 93.2.

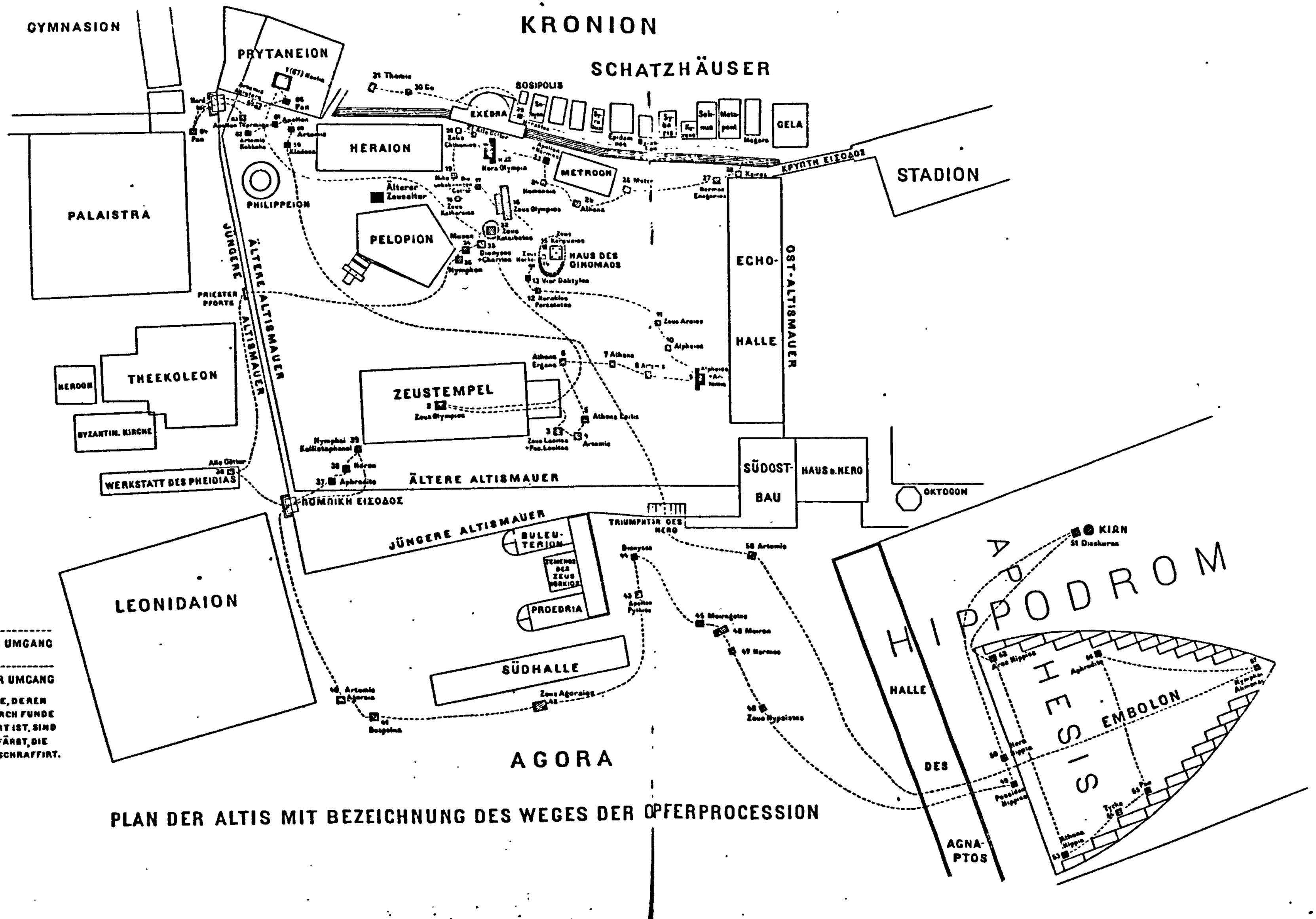
49 Priestess of Artemis wearing a snake-bracelet, from Messene. Fragment of Hellenistic statue, half life-size. *PAE* 1962 Pl. 117.

Plate

50 Female flanked by two serpents, from Gortyn. Fragment of Archaic painted terracotta plaque, *c* 19 x 12 cm. *ASAtene* 33-34 (1955) Pl. 1.d.

51 Snake on throne of goddess, from Demeter's sanctuary at Cyrene. (?) Hellenistic limestone statue, life-size. *AJA* 79 (1975) Pl. 4.11.

52 Female with heraldic sirens, from Hermione. Bronze mirror, 6th c BC. H. of caryatid 18.6 cm. Congdon. *Caryatid mirrors of Ancient Greece*, no. 5.



PLAN DER ALTIS MIT BEZEICHNUNG DES WEGES DER OPFERPROCESSION

Figure 1

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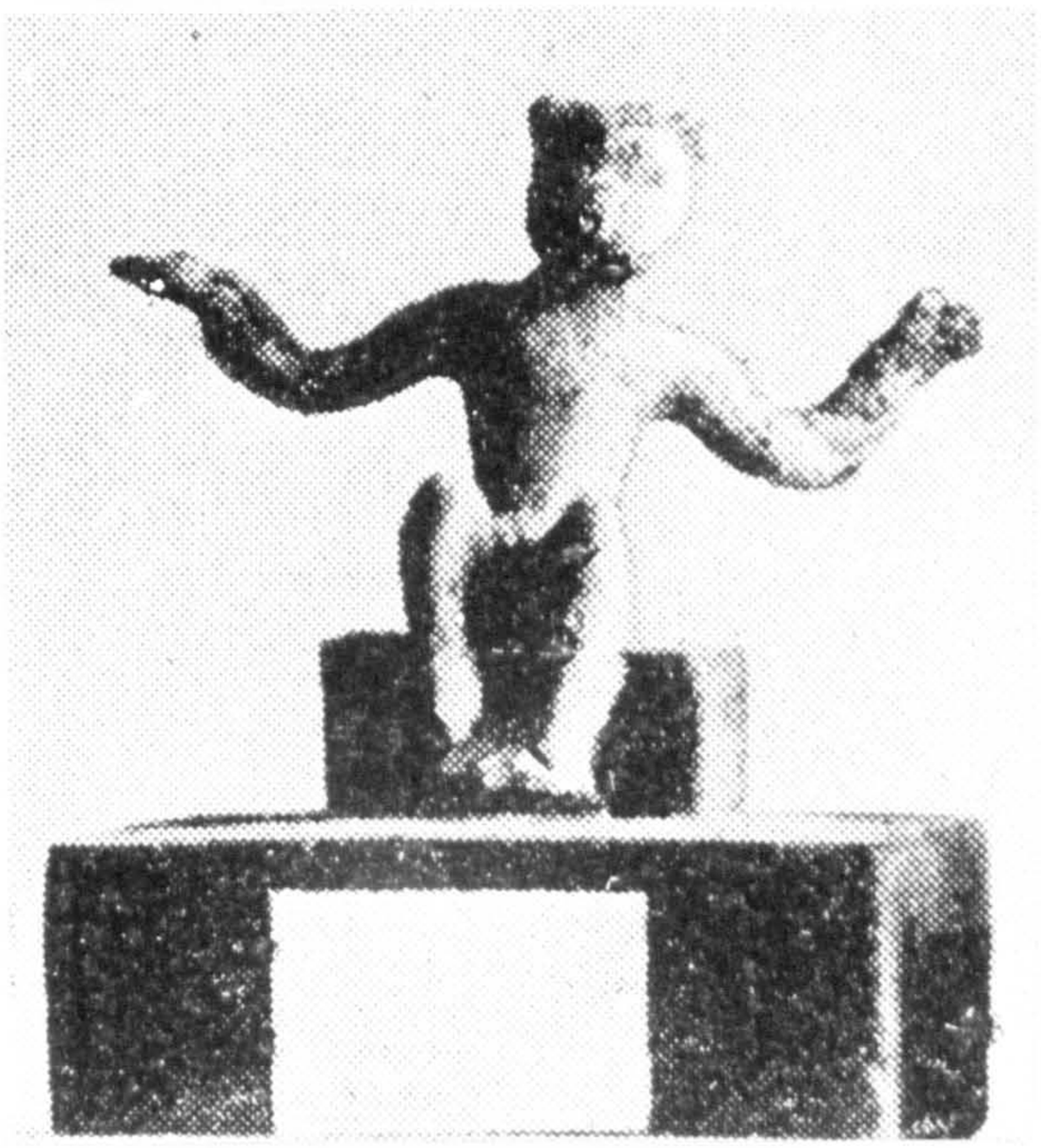

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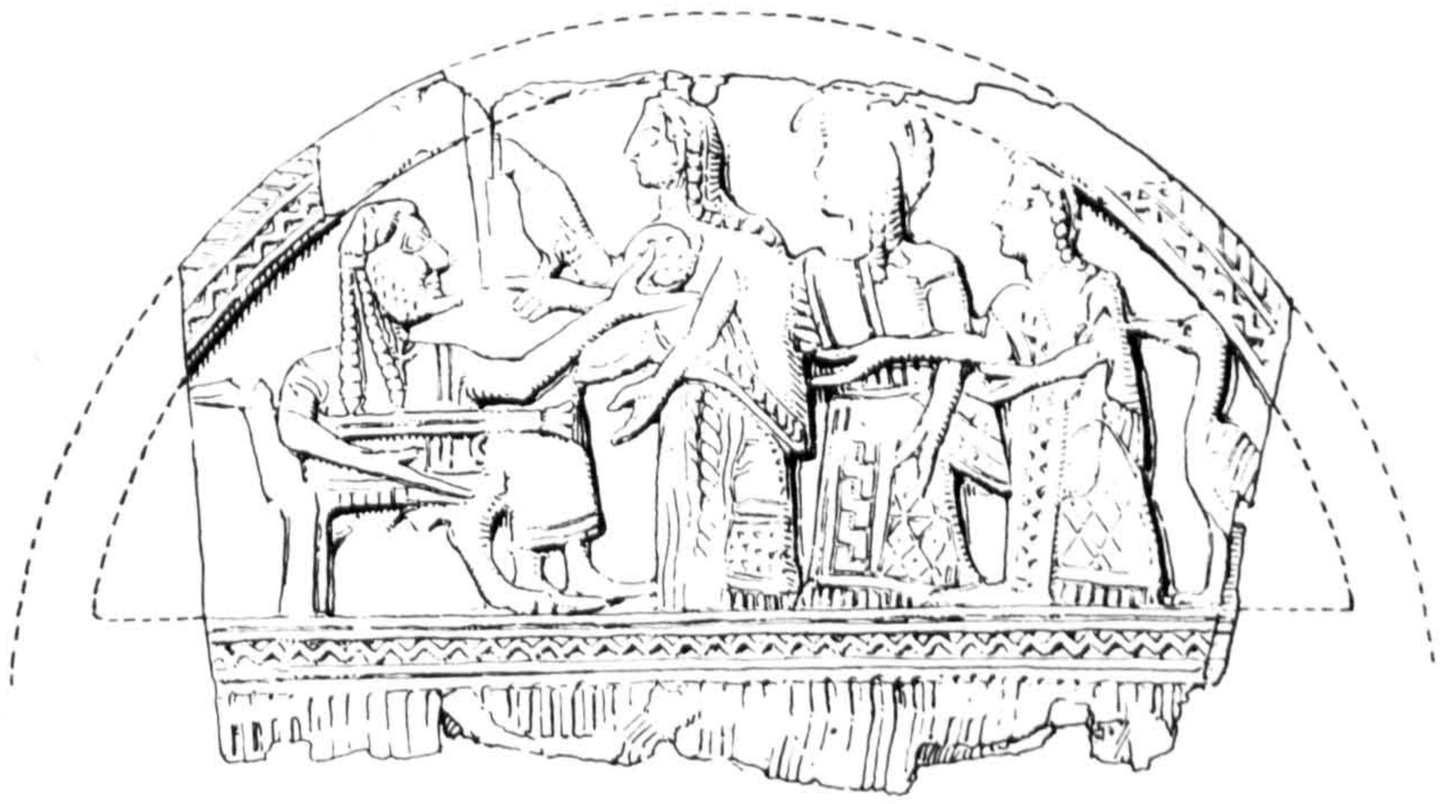

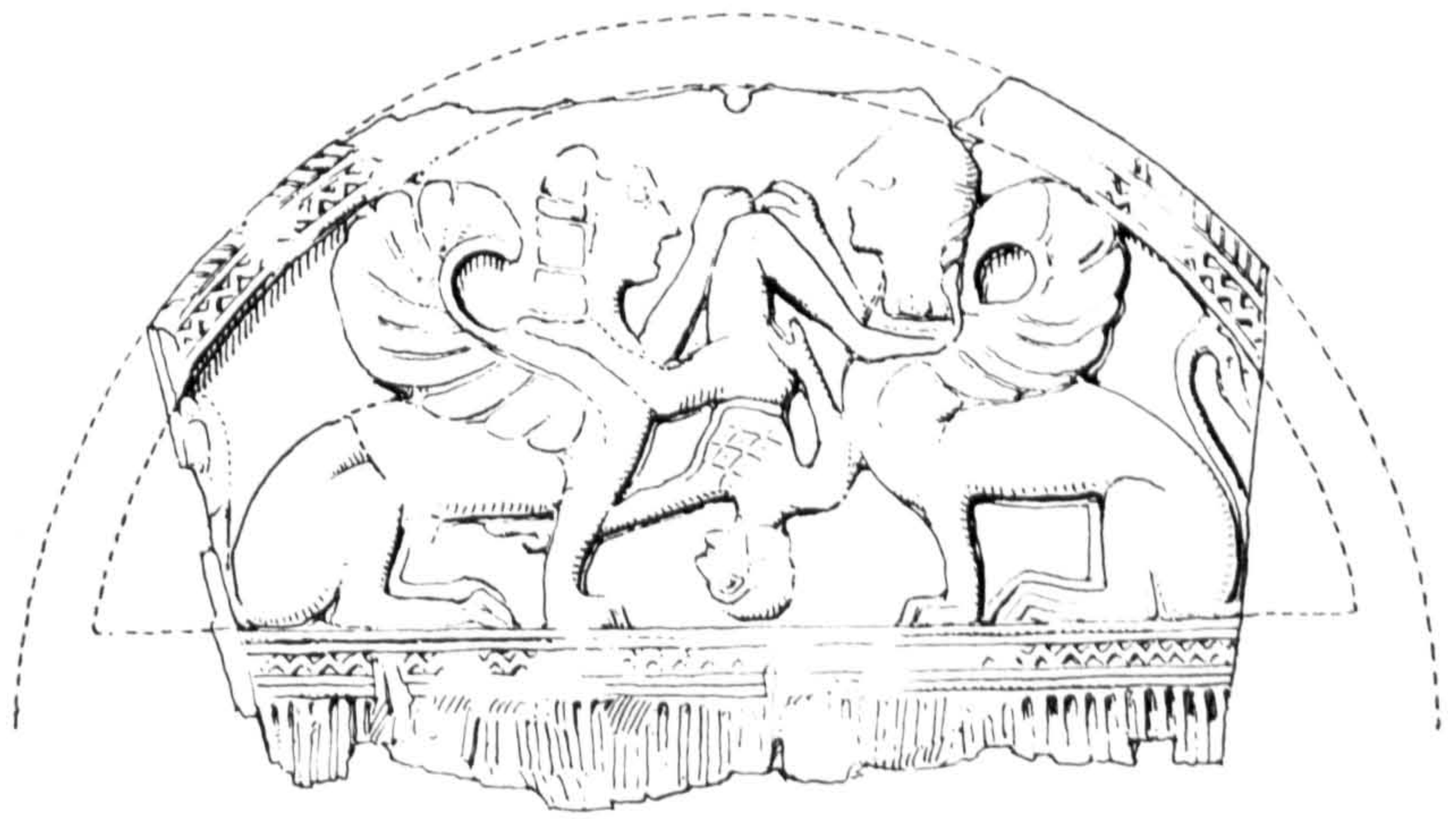

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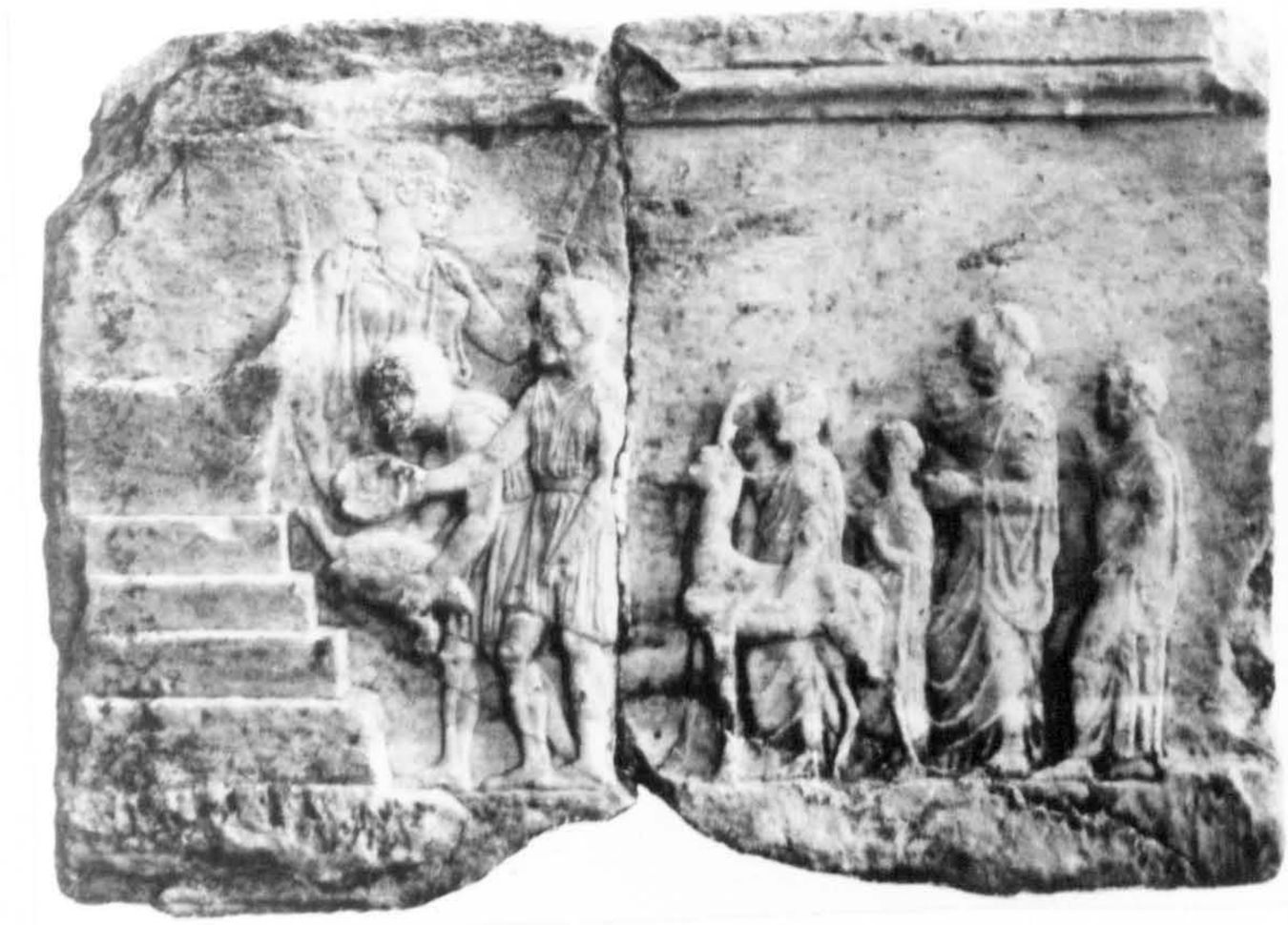

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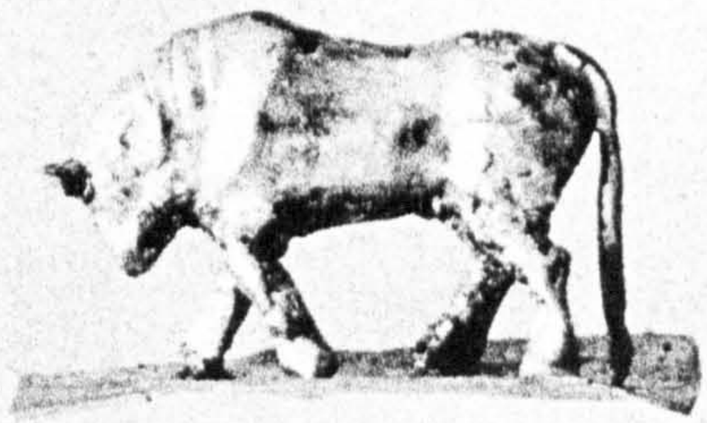

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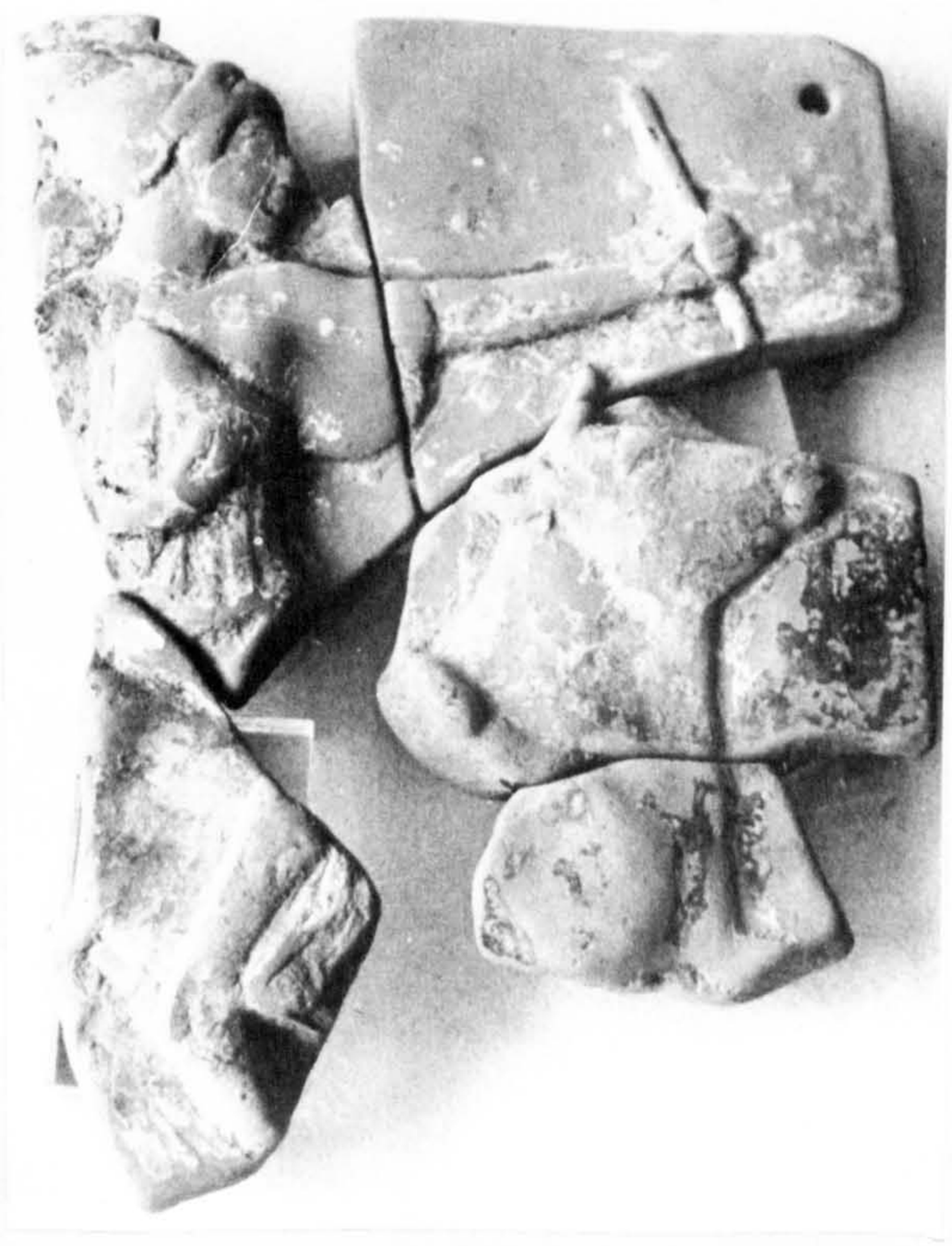

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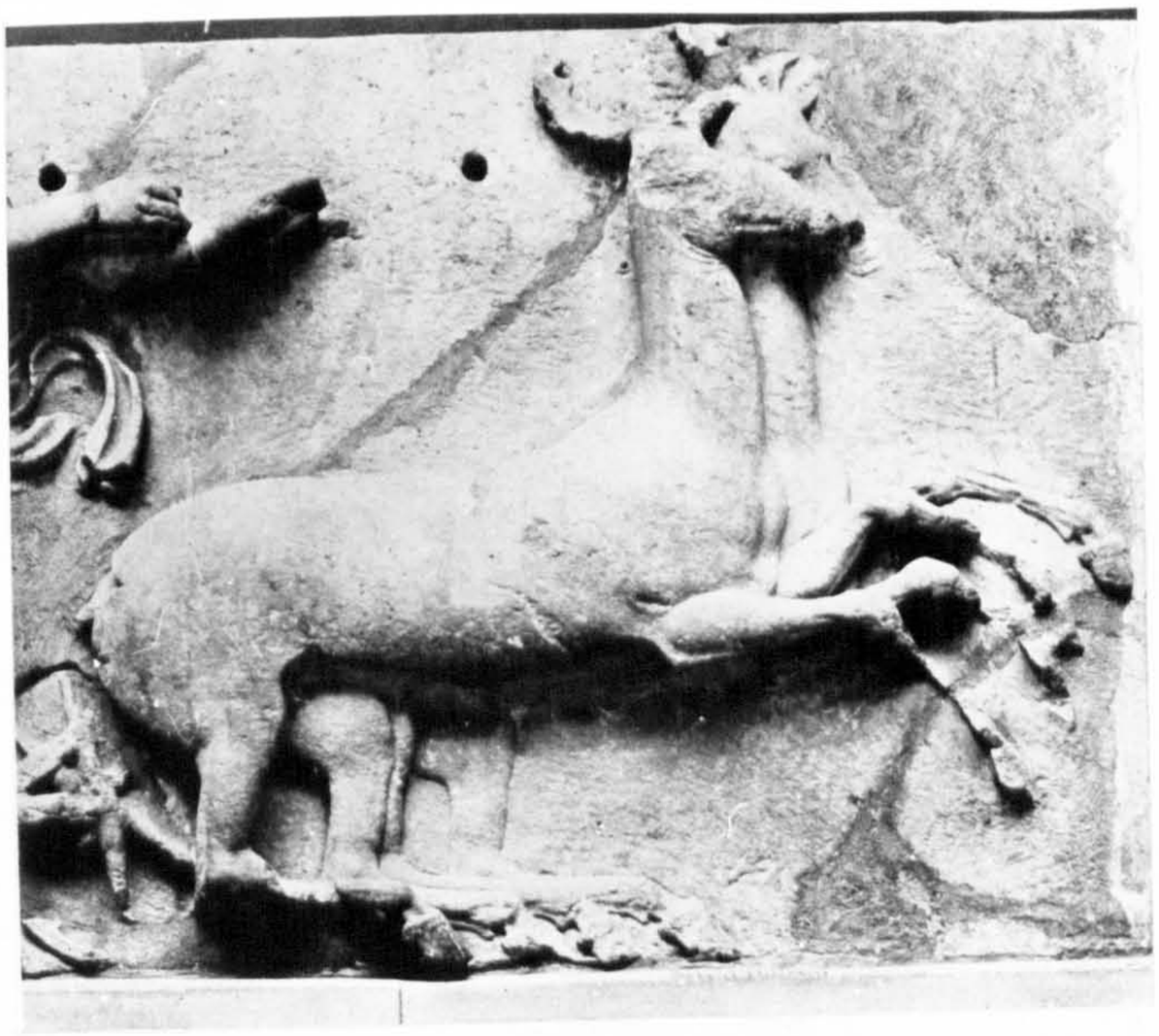

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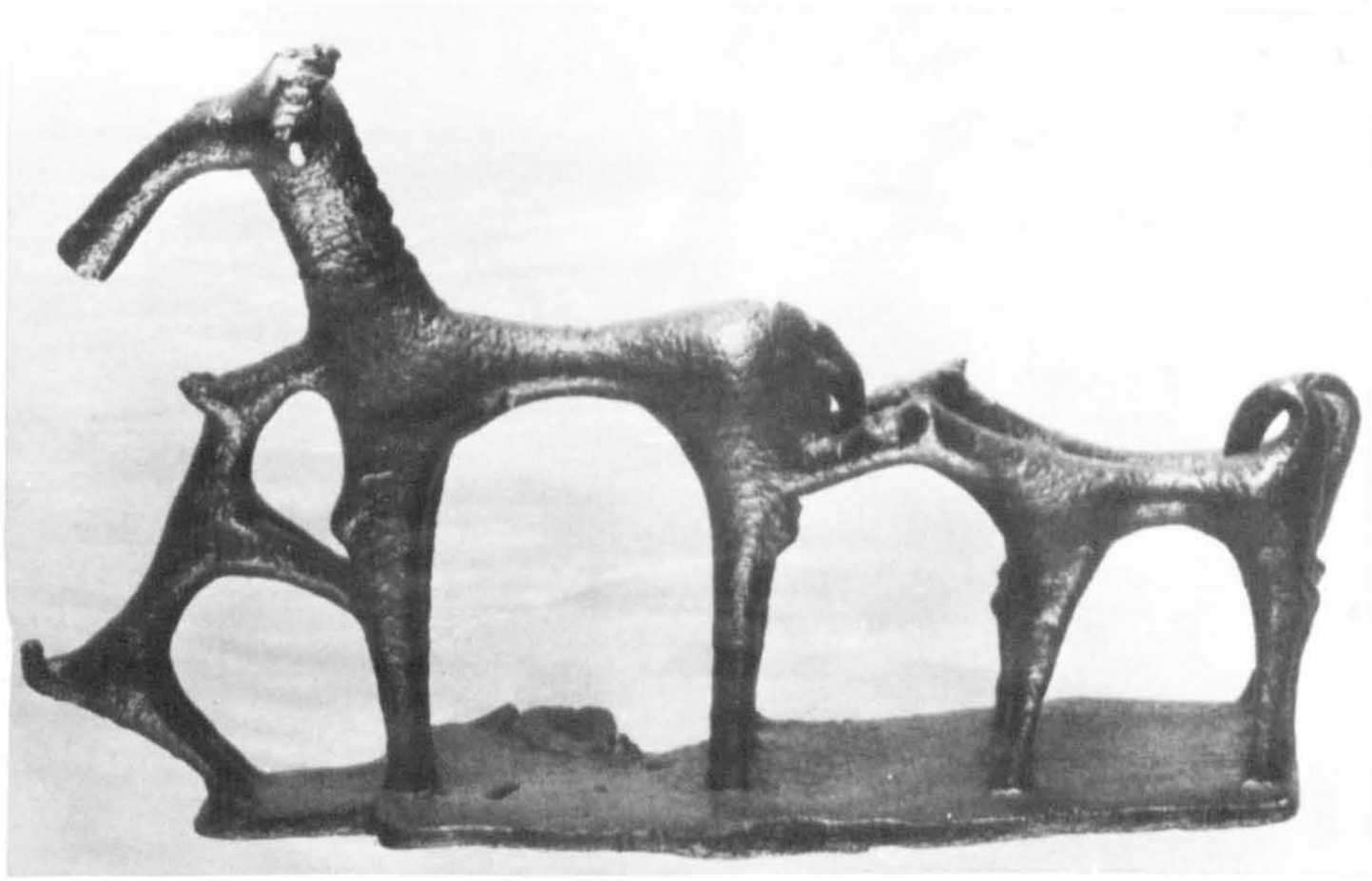

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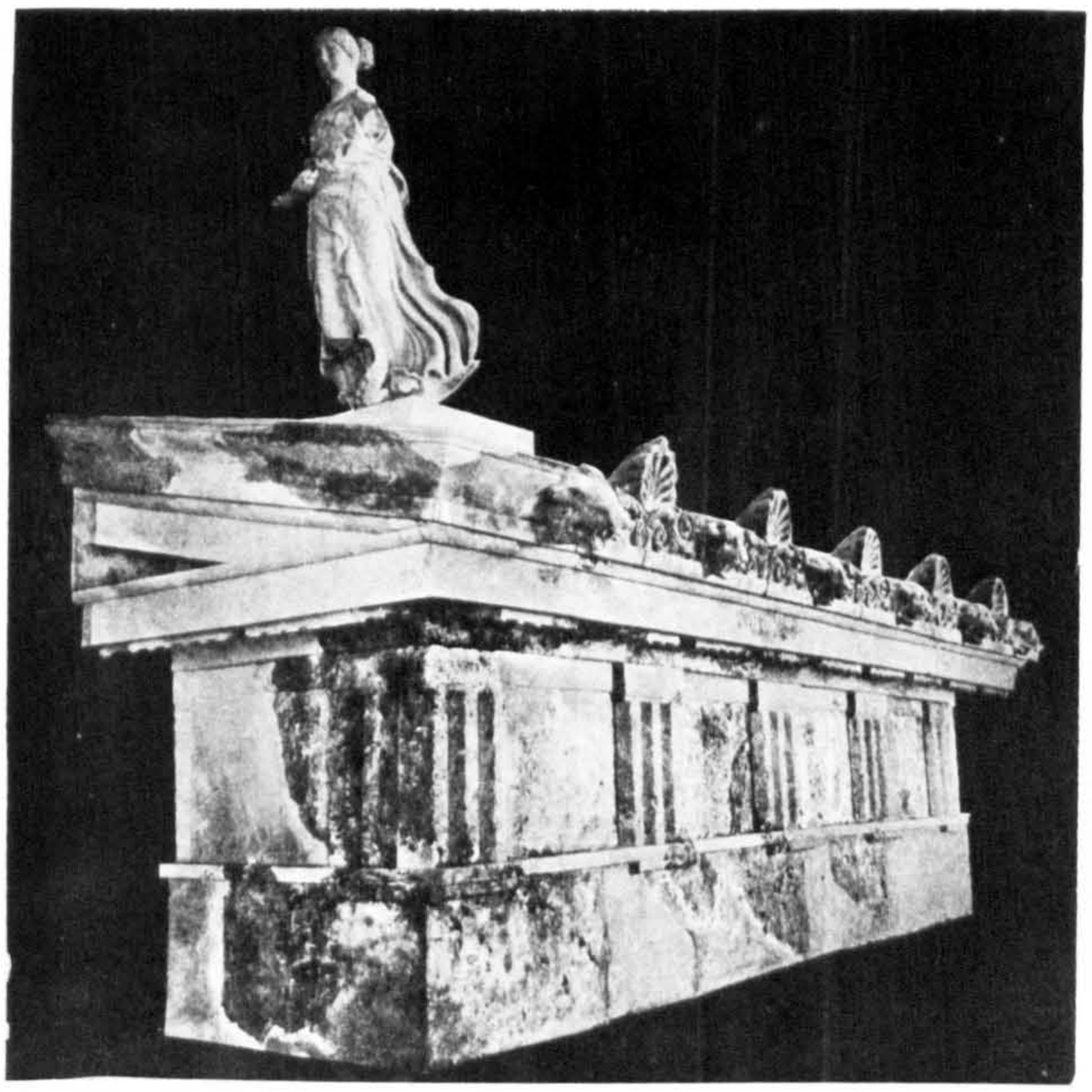

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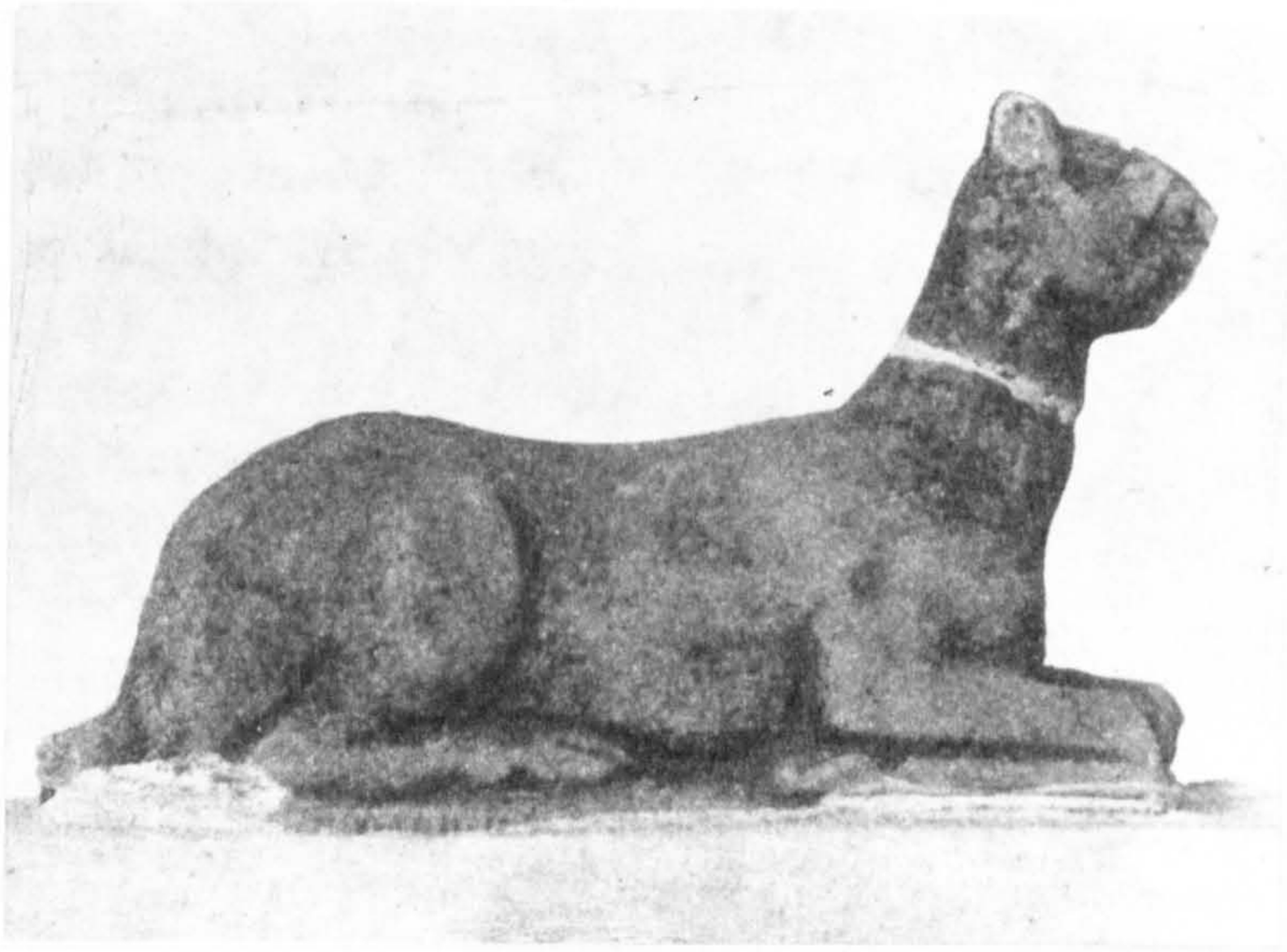

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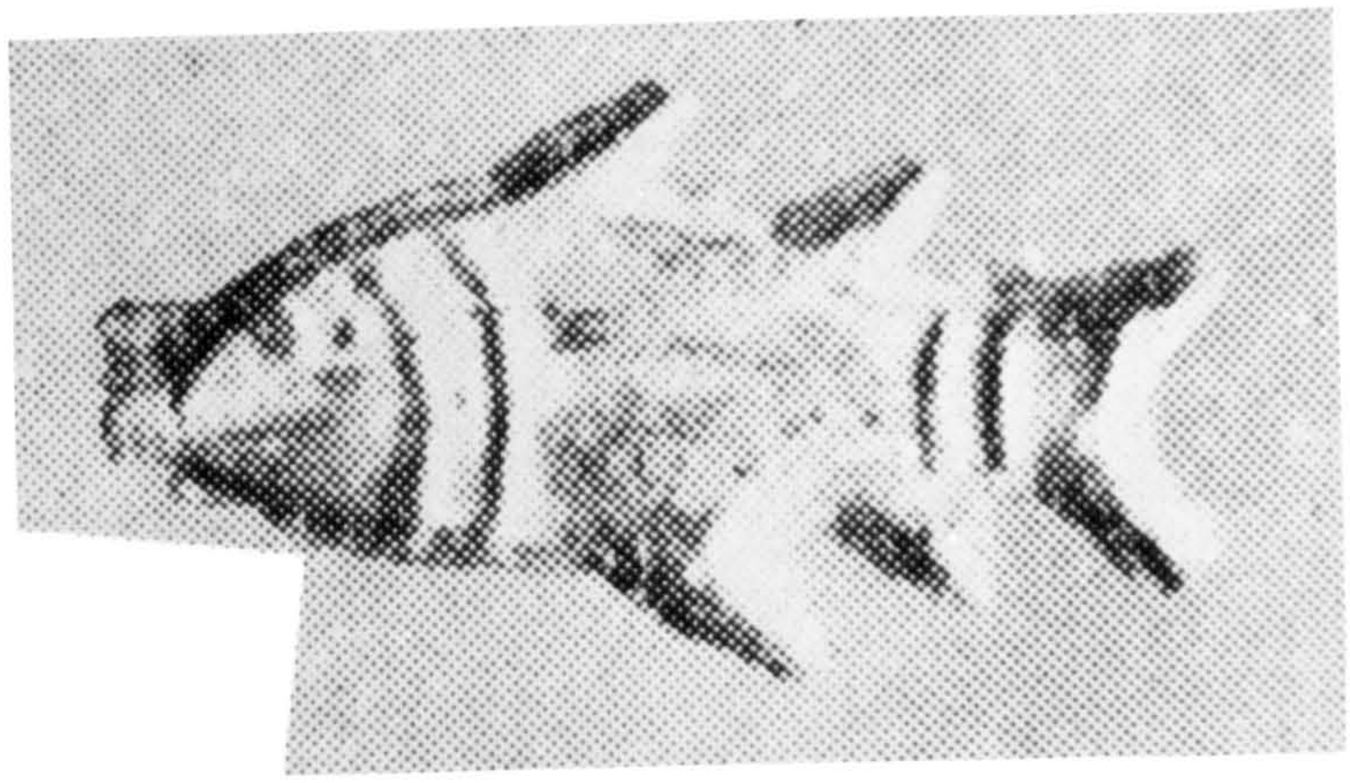

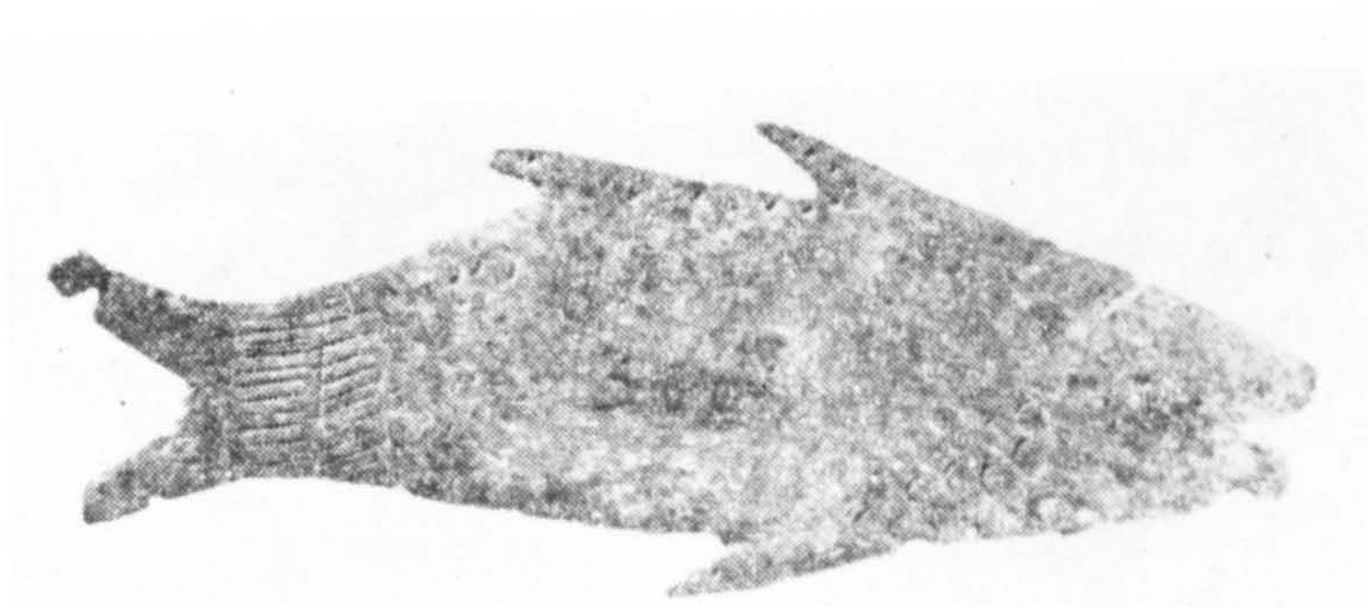

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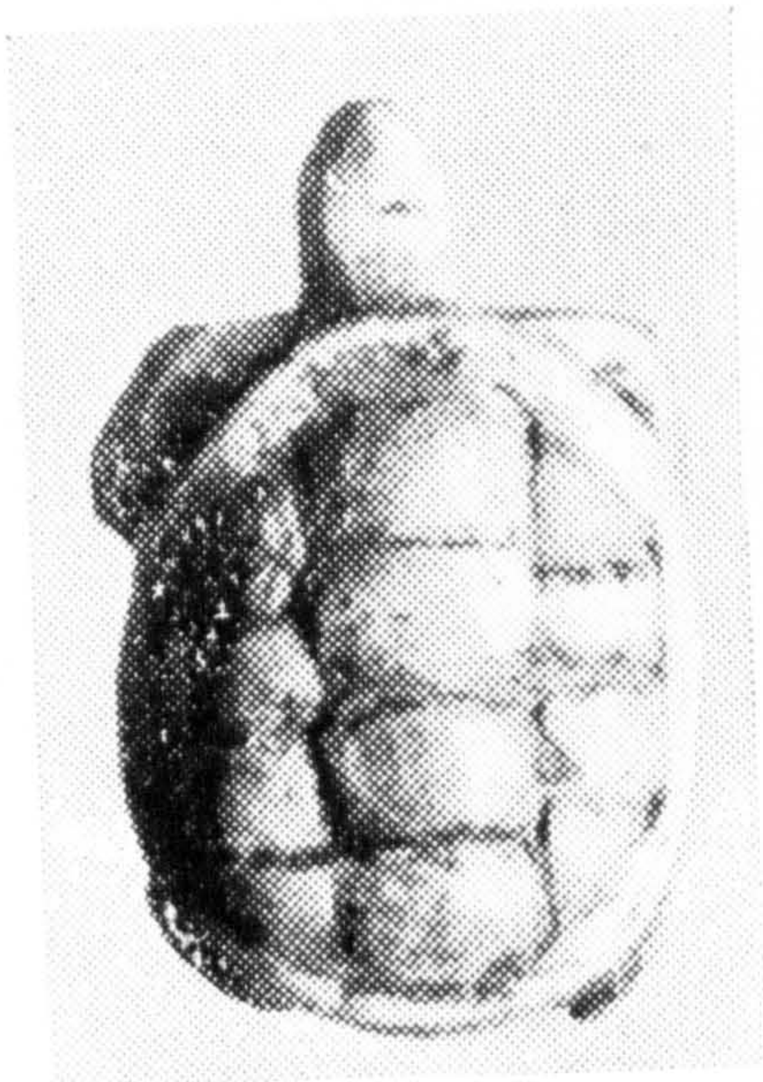

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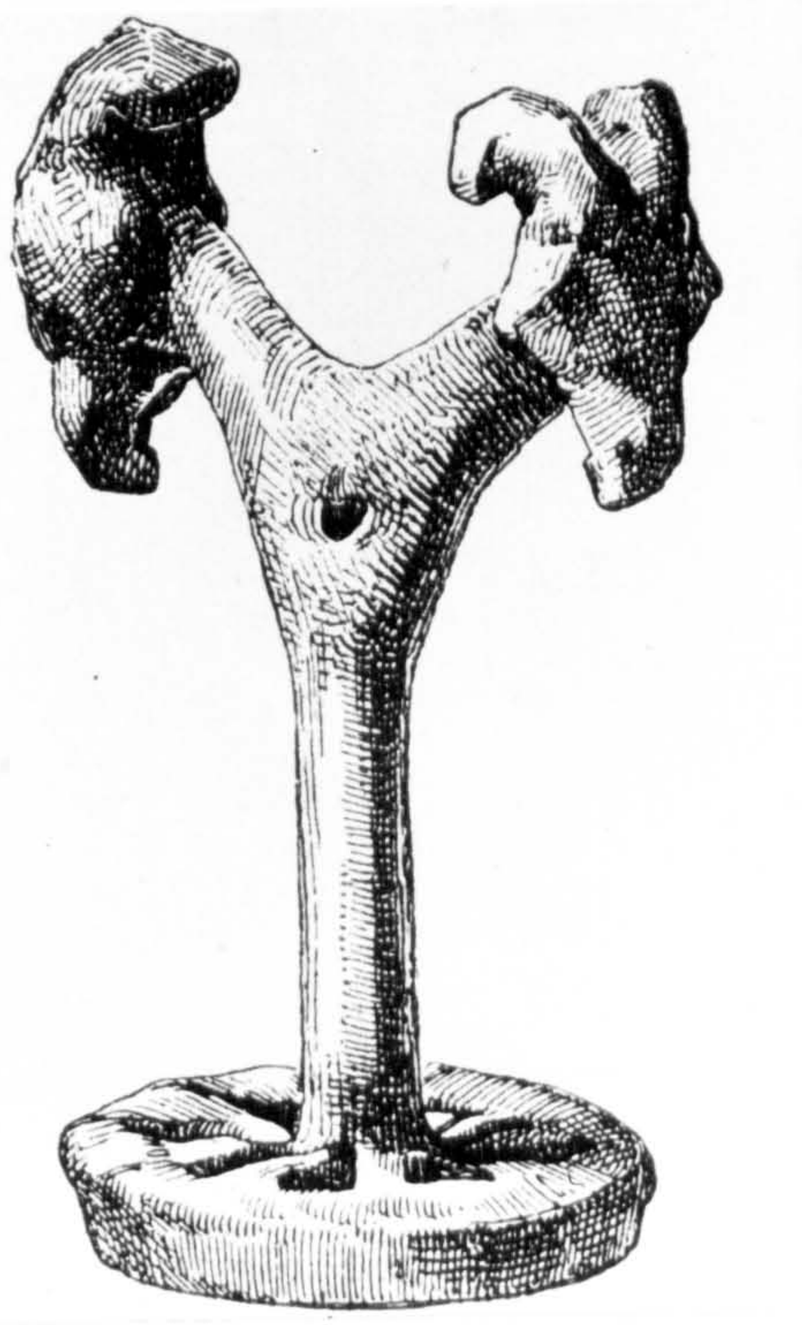

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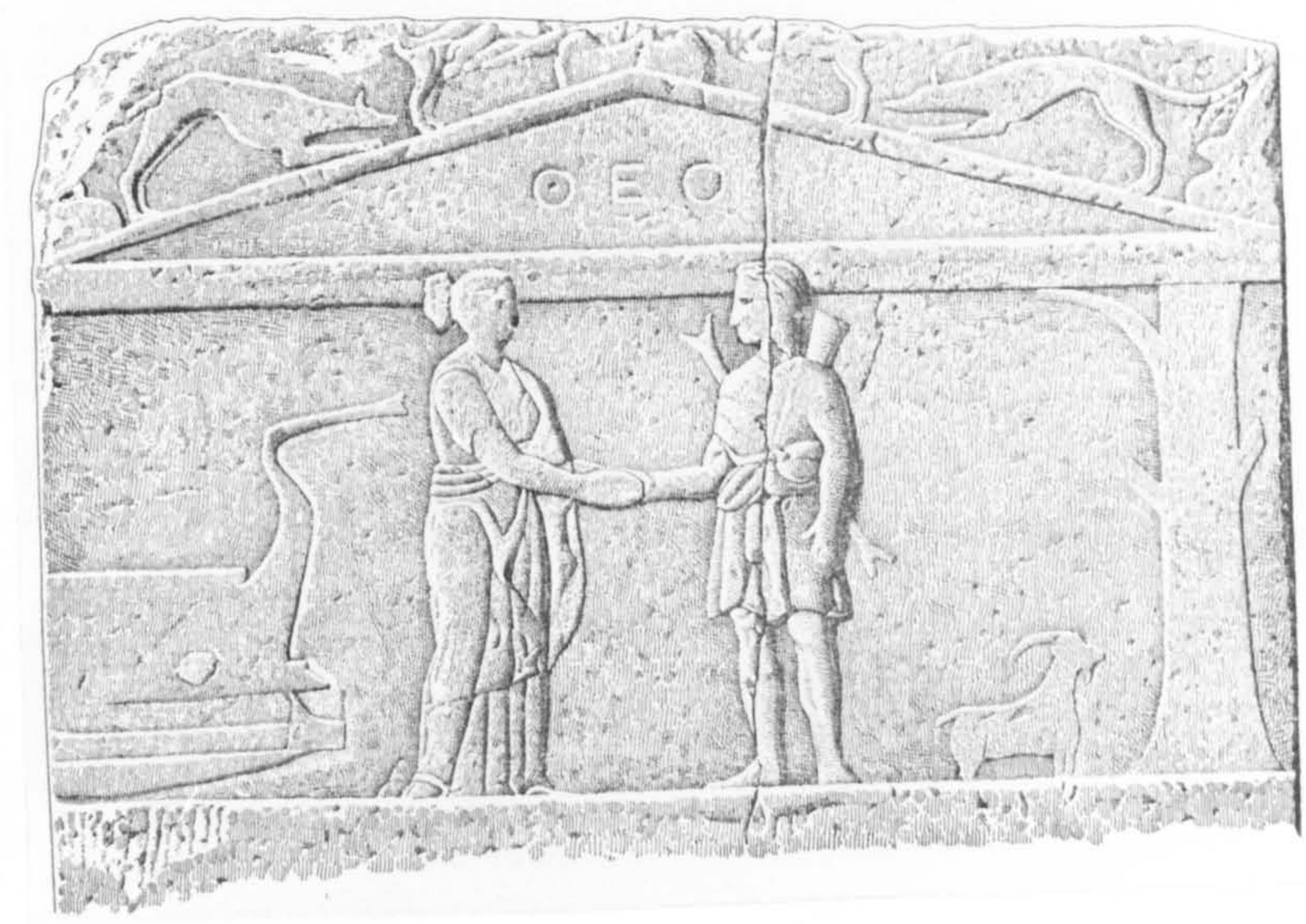

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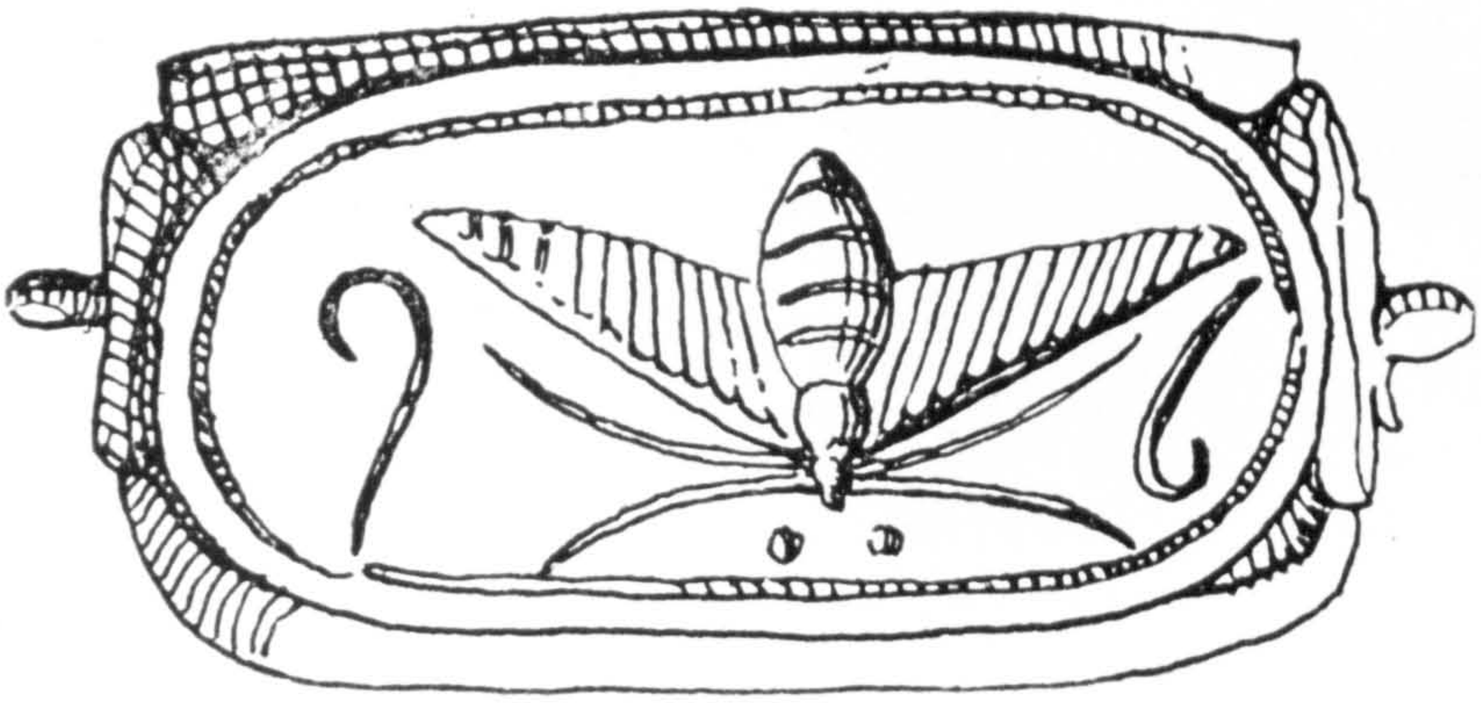

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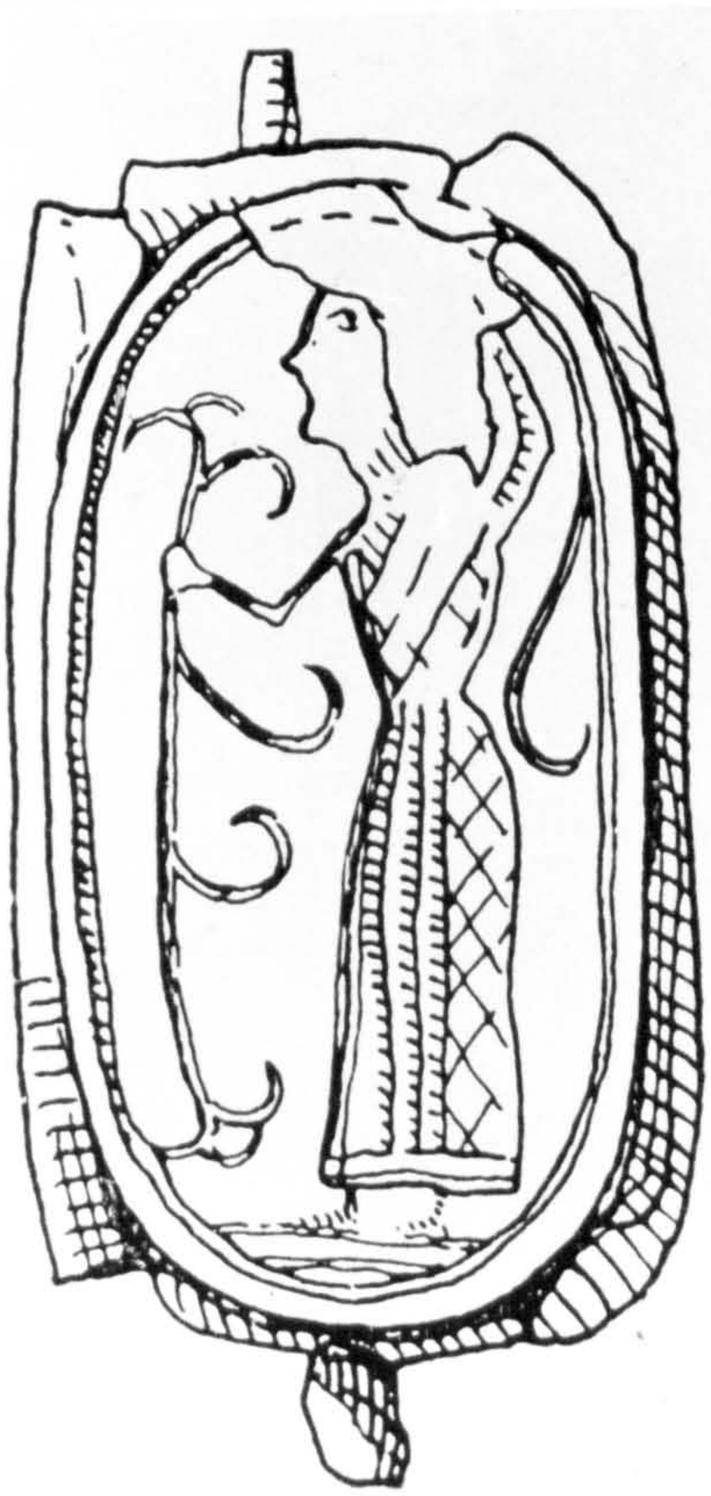

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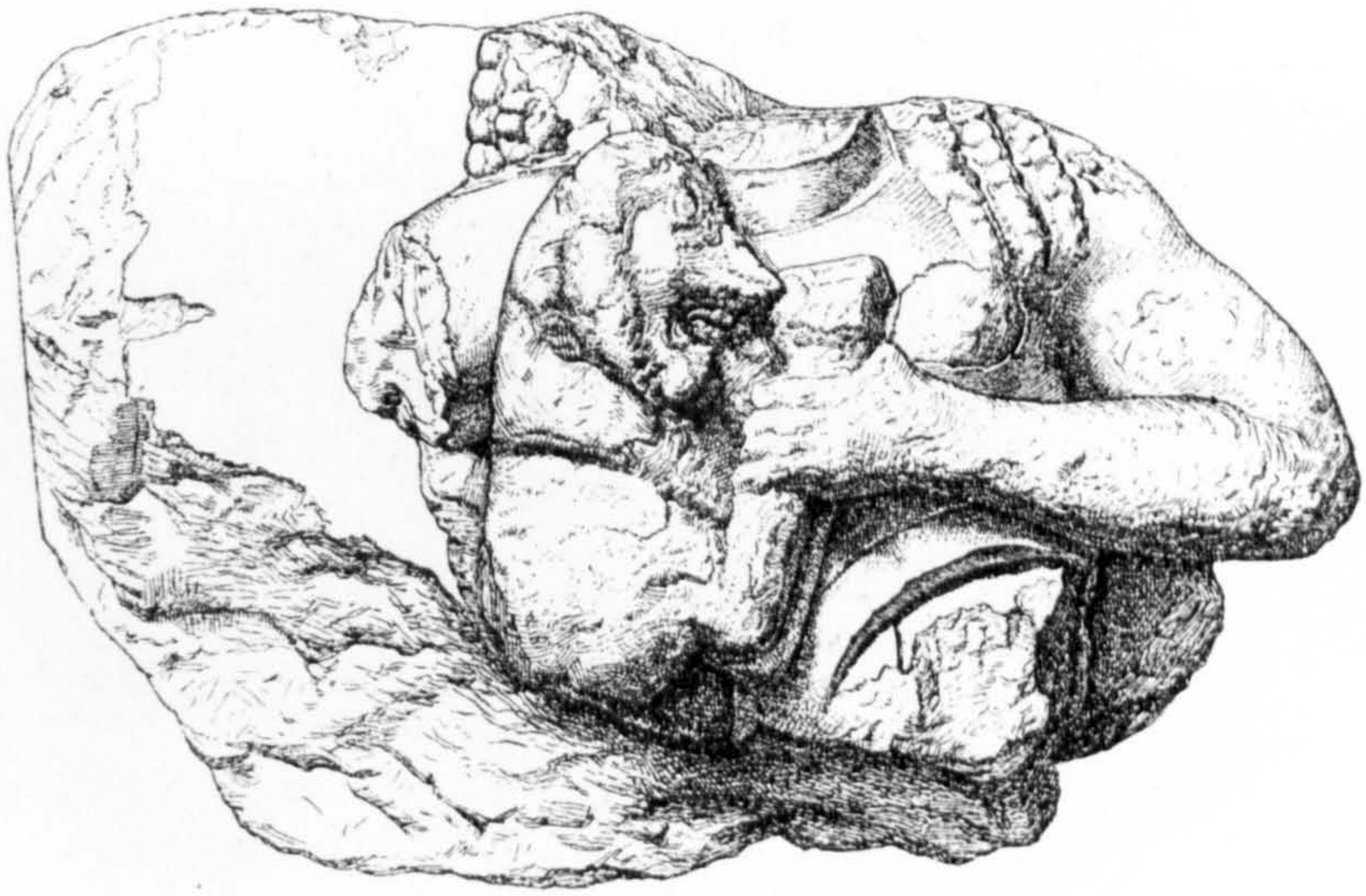

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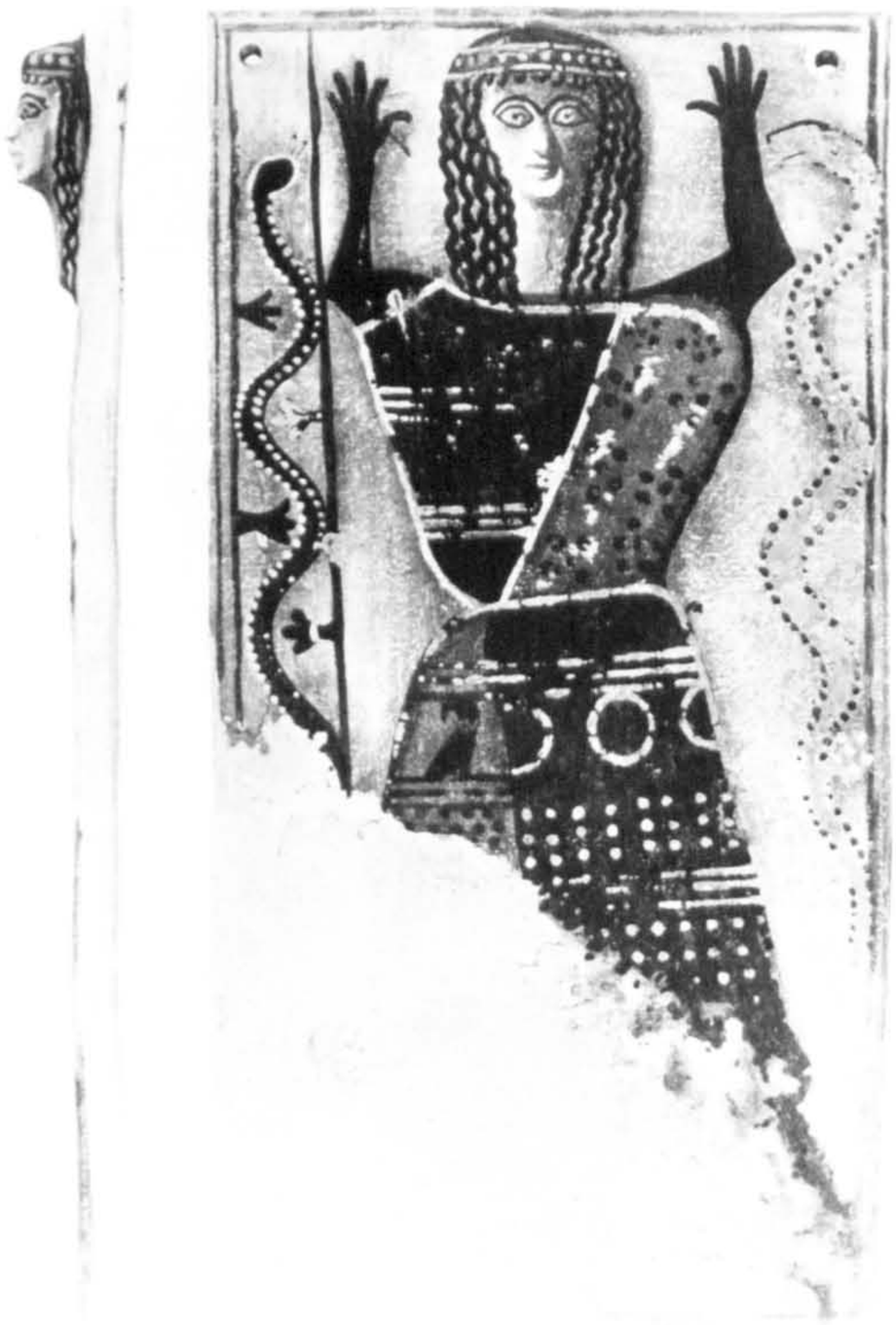

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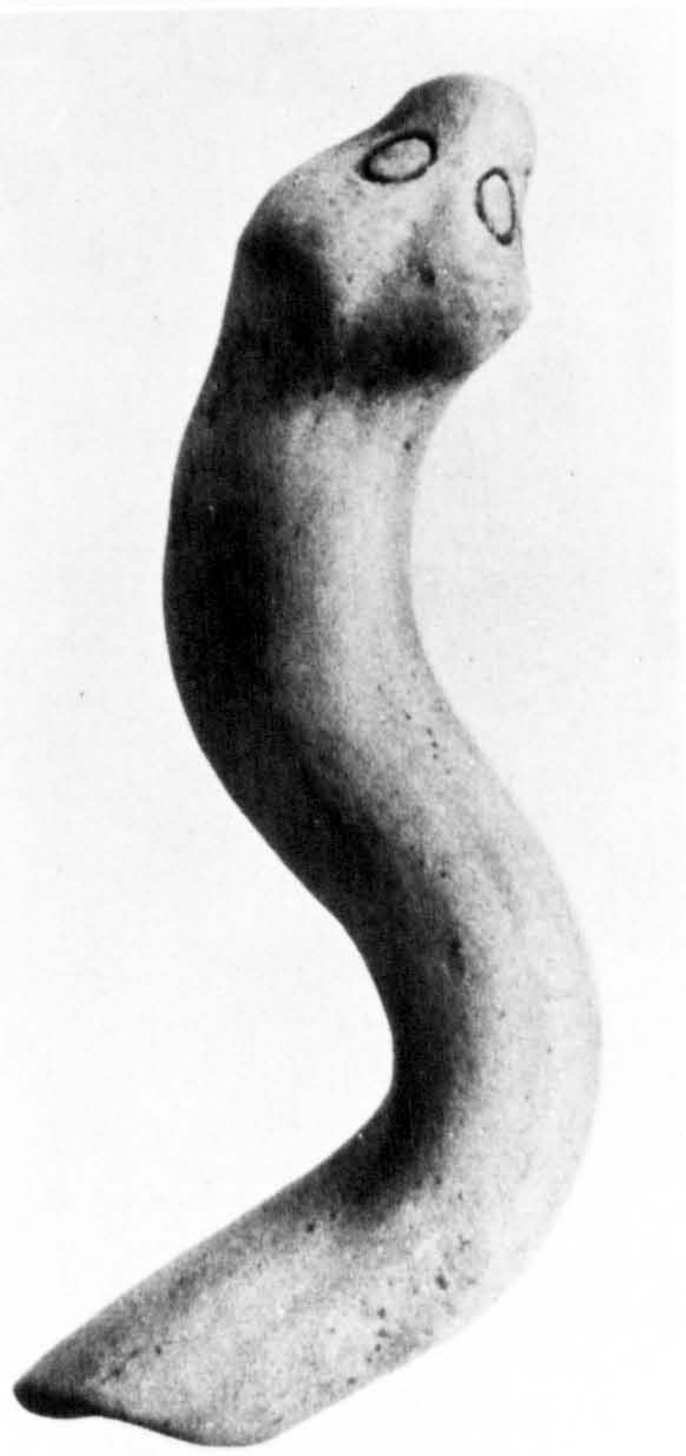

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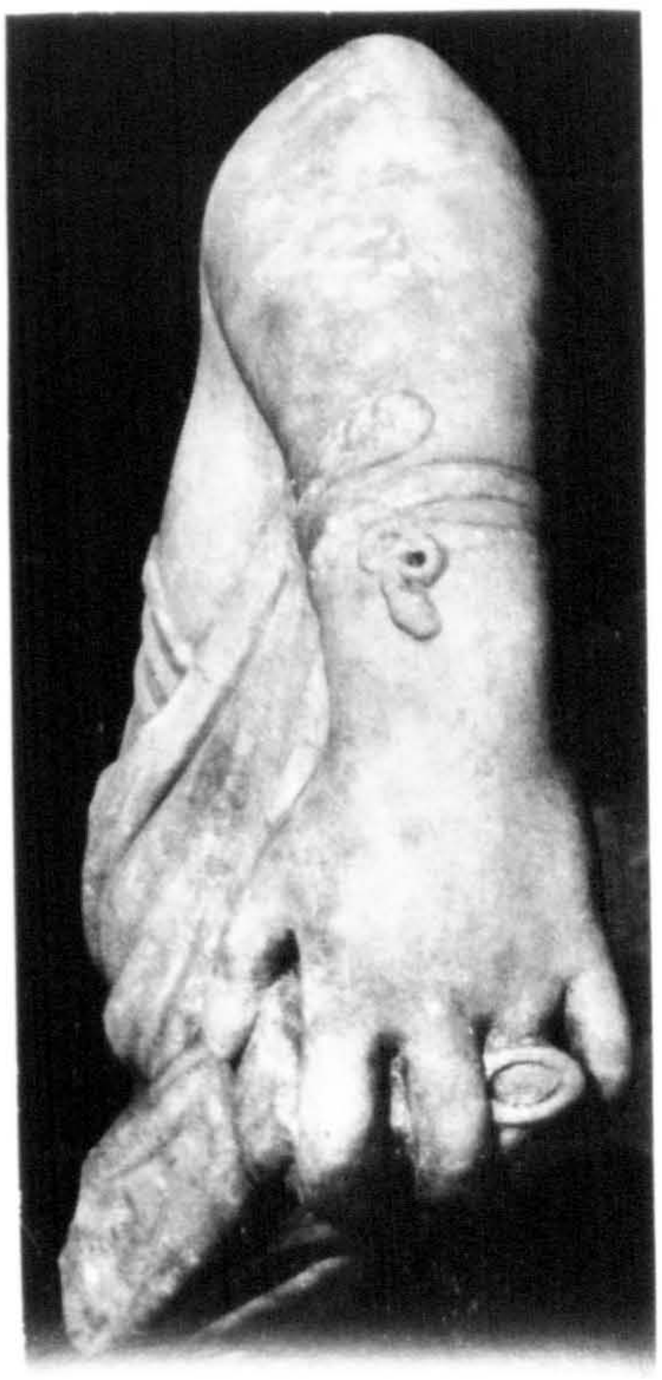

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